Colebrook

LIFE OF H. T. COLEBROOKE.



H Colebrooke

Engraved by Francis Holl, from a bust by Chantrey.

THE LIFE

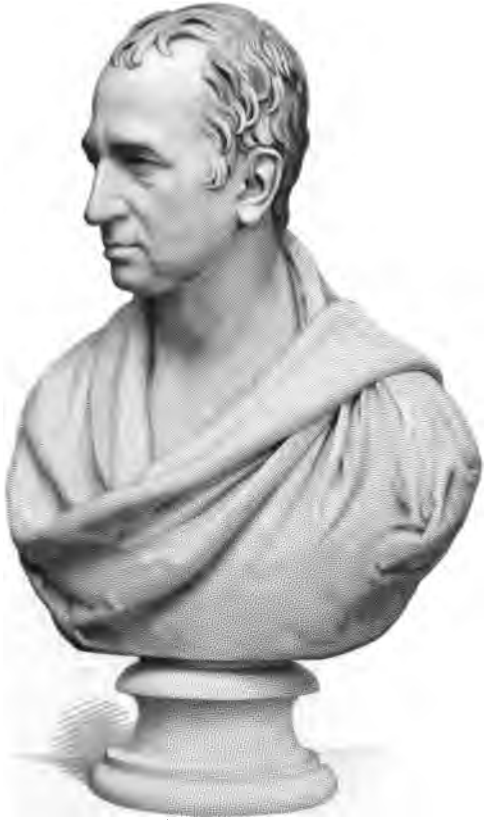
H. T. COLEBROOKE,

BY HIS SON

SIR T. E. COLEBROOKE

LONDON
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.
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PREFACE.

THE substance of the present memoir appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society soon after Mr. Colebrooke's death. It consisted originally of a brief notice of his public and literary career, interspersed with extracts from his letters to his family during the first twenty years of his residence in India. Being asked a few years since to allow this notice to appear in a new edition of his "Miscellaneous Essays," which Mr. Fitzedward Hall desired to re-publish, I thought it incumbent on me to render it more worthy of Mr. Colebrooke's reputation. The letters in the present volume are, for the most part, given in full; and some additional correspondence appears, which had escaped my search on the former occasion. I have also inserted a few papers of literary interest, including a Journal kept by him during his residence at Nagpur, which was left incomplete. Two addresses delivered to the Royal Asiatic and Astronomical Societies, and the narrative of a journey to and from the capital of Berar, are given in an Appendix, and complete the volume.

As the narrative of a life, so large a portion of which was devoted to profound study, must consist mainly of the history of the author's works, it has been my endeavour to give a connected view of these different undertakings, and, at the same time, avoid a tone of criticism, which would be unbecoming in so near a relative. I have found it impossible, however, to separate altogether the provinces of biographer and critic; and have been obliged, on the fulfilment of my undertaking, to give a fuller account of the works themselves, than I had aimed at in the first instance. In this I have been encouraged by observing the increasing appreciation by Oriental scholars of Mr. Colebrooke's labours in this field. It has frequently been my fortune to hear such striking testimony borne to the remarkable accuracy, not less than to the extent, of his learning, that I cannot doubt that his reputation has risen since the time when the essays first appeared. I trust, therefore, that the record of hard labour in what has too often been regarded as an uninviting branch of literature, may prove of interest even beyond the circle of Oriental students. I have not the less been impressed with the difficulty of my task; and the reader will be able to judge of this when he considers how varied were Mr. Colebrooke's labours both in literature and science. It would be impossible for one who has not devoted himself to the same studies to convey an adequate impression of the value and importance of these works; and this remark especially applies to some of his writings on which his reputation mainly rests. This will account, in

some measure, for the irregularity of my treatment of different branches of my subject, which the reader may notice, and which constitutes an imperfection of the work.

I must take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Mr. Fitzedward Hall, for the great assistance he rendered to me, during the course of my work, while he held the office of Librarian at the India Office.

It will be observed that the spelling of the names of persons and places, and occasionally of Sanskrit terms, is not uniform throughout the volume. The mode employed in Mr. Colebrooke's letters differs from that in his Journals, and the latter does not always correspond with the mode in use in his published Essays. It seemed to be a case in which it was not an object to aim at complete uniformity, and I have corrected the original manuscript or text only where there was an obvious error or misprint.

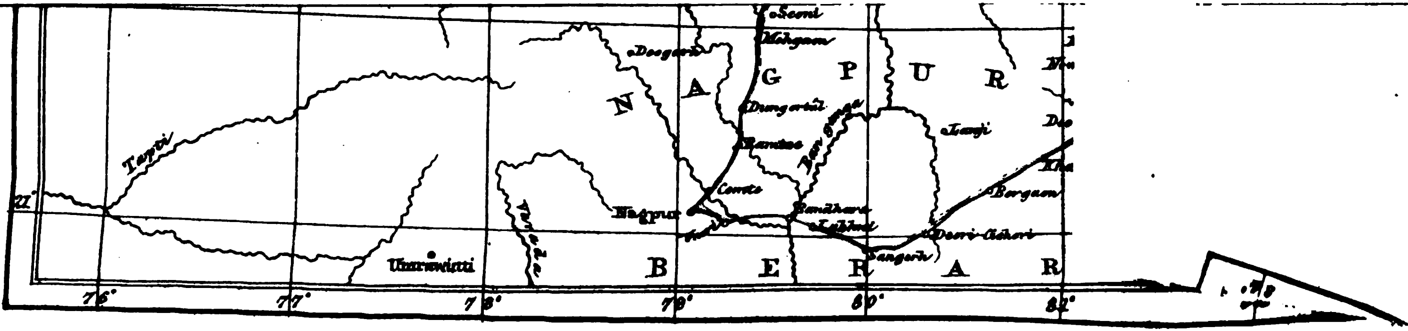
EDWARD COLEBROOKE.

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ERRATA.

Page 11,	line 14	from the top,	*for*	sources *read* source.
,, 61,	,, 4	,,	,,	arrives *read* arrive.
,, 147,	,, 21	,,	,,	described *read* describe.
,, 163,	,, 5	,,	,,	Yamaná *read* Yamuná.
,, 247,	,, 30	,,	,,	graer *read* greater.

The lacunæ at pp. 149, 152, 160, and 181, are so in the original manuscripts.


N A G P U R
B E R A R
Seoni
Mohgaon
Doogarh
Dungertal
Ramtac
Comte
Nagpur
Bandhara
Lanji
Bergaon
Sangerh
Umrawutti
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THE LIFE

OF

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE.

CHAPTER I. 1765—1786.

BIRTH—PARENTAGE—EDUCATION—EMBARKS FOR INDIA—INDIAN SOCIETY—STATE OF THE SERVICE—LETTERS.

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, the subject of this memoir, was born in London, on the fifteenth of June, 1765. His father, Sir George Colebrooke, was member of an important banking firm, which had carried on business in the city of London, from the beginning of the century, and is mentioned in some contemporary record as a firm of goldsmiths, a trade with which banking, it is well known, was formerly connected. The firm rose rapidly; and there was a tradition in the family that its resources were largely increased by the prudence of Sir George's father, Mr. James Colebrooke, during the general madness of the South Sea scheme. He had been warned by the example of a younger brother, who was at Paris, and acquainted with Law, at the time of the Mississippi scheme, and engaged deeply in it. If he had realized his profits at a proper time, he would have acquired a considerable fortune; he wrote to London to bespeak a fine equipage against his return in splendour, but, the reverse happening, he was reduced, like many others, to walk on foot. The example of this reverse

seems to have sunk deeply into the mind of the more prudent brother; for, some years later, on balancing his books at the end of the year, he added, what is not usual at the foot of an account, the ejaculation of David in his hour of repentance after numbering Israel, "Lord, I have sinned greatly in that I have done; and now I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant, for I have done very foolishly."

On his death, in 1752, his two youngest sons carried on the business, and Sir George, on the death of his brother, succeeded to the management of the concern.

He entered Parliament soon after he came of age, and sat for Arundel, with which place his family had been connected, and in the neighbourhood of which his brother had property. As his two brothers also held seats in Parliament, and he became proprietor of the borough of Gatton, these advantages, joined to his commercial wealth and connection with the city of London, gave him some political importance; and, when the affairs of the East India Company attracted public attention after the cession of the Dewanee, he took a prominent part in defending the Company against the demands of the Government, greedy to share in the revenues of the East. The services which he rendered to the Directors on this occasion led to his being invited to join in the administration of their affairs; and two years later (1769) he became the Chairman of the Company, and held the office for a term of four years.

Some reminiscences of his times, addressed to his son Henry, are strikingly illustrative of the politics of this period. Charles Townshend, on his accession to office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1766, was urged by Alderman Beckford to look for revenue in the East; and his first aim was to pass a declaratory Act asserting the right of the Crown to the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company. As the Government were not prepared to undertake the responsibility of the administration of the new territory, and were warned

that they were not to expect aid in the remittance of revenue from the Company, secured in the enjoyment of this exclusive trade, they thought it safer to compromise claims which they were not in a position to assert, and turned their thoughts to the West. This East India struggle, in which such important principles were at stake, was keenly fought by jobbers in the East India House; and in this low game the leading politicians joined. The object of the jobbers was to declare a high dividend, push their leaders into office, and screen some Indian delinquents who headed the movement; the object of ministers was to gain some public advantage from the Company, and share in the general plunder of the East. In this scene of intrigue Charles Townshend was in his element, and regarded a victory in the Court of Proprietors as of almost equal importance to one in the House of Commons. In fact, the weakness of the Government enabled the East India Directors to treat with the Administration on almost equal terms. This is the less surprising, when it is considered that the patronage at the disposal of the Chairman of the Company was regarded as something on a par with that of the Minister. The new acquisitions were looked upon as a mine of wealth, and the chairman was beset by applicants for the situations and offices at the disposal of this mercantile body. I have in my possession a curious file of notes of application which Sir George Colebrooke threw together as a record of the importance of his new position. In fact, so absorbing were his public avocations that his private affairs were neglected. The rash speculations of a member of the banking firm who was related to Sir George involved him in ruin. Attempts were made by the principal merchants of the City to assist him through his difficulties; but it was in vain, and his ruin was inevitable. The creditors were ultimately paid in full; but his position was for many years one of great pecuniary difficulty; and he retired, when his son Henry was only twelve years of age, to a provincial town in France, where he resided for several years,

until his affairs were partially retrieved, being for the time mainly dependent on the private fortune of his wife.

His former connection with the East India Company enabled him to procure the appointment of his two youngest sons as writers on the Bengal establishment. James Edward, who afterwards succeeded to the baronetcy, preceded his younger brother to India by several years, and was soon after his arrival appointed to an office of some confidence,—an appointment which he owed to the favour of Warren Hastings, that great administrator having himself been nominated to his high office during the time that Sir George Colebrooke was Chairman of the Company. Henry followed his brother in 1782.

His powers were early developed, and his love of reading was shown when quite a child. His father was a person of literary tastes, and a zealous Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He had certainly a considerable share in giving a bent to his son's zeal for Eastern researches; but it was from his mother that he inherited the vigour of mind that enabled him, in the midst of onerous public duties, to achieve so high a place in literature and science. Lady Colebrooke was a person of superior abilities; but those who knew her would dwell rather on her severe and decided character, and the force and energy of her language and conduct; and hers is an instance which supports the theory of those who contend that men of superior intellect have, almost invariably, remarkable mothers. The writer of this memoir remembers his grandmother in his early childhood,—a venerable lady of eighty, who impressed all except children with considerable awe. A single trait of character, fixed on his earliest recollection, may be worth noticing. An attempt was made to carry off by force some young relations under her charge. Her carriage was stopped in broad daylight; but, when the door was thrown open, the old lady flung herself into the gap, and exclaimed, "You pass to Miss Colebrooke over my body." She was then nearly eighty years of age.

To return to the subject of this memoir. As a boy, he was

of a retired and studious disposition, seldom joining in the active amusements of youth. A sister, who survived him, stated that he showed an early inclination for the Church, and expressed a strong desire to his father to join a profession that would enable him to follow his native bent for study. He was never at any school. His studies were pursued at his father's house under a tutor, and with such success that at the age of fifteen he had attained a considerable mastery over the classical languages, a great command of French, and some knowledge of German. At this age, too, he had laid the foundation of profound mathematical attainments. His progress in the latter between the ages of twelve and sixteen must have been great, for he would speak of this period of life as the best suited for a study so profound, and requiring so much seclusion from disturbing occupations. From occasional allusions to his early studies, it may be concluded that he owed little, during the later years of his tuition, to his instructor; for it was his practice, as he would recount with pardonable vanity, to put his mark considerably in advance of what he had prepared in the classical works on which he was engaged, and trust to his general knowledge of the languages to carry him through the daily lesson. At the age of fifteen he parted from his tutor, his father having the promise of an appointment to India, which led to arrangements for his immediate departure. The appointment did not take effect for more than a year, and for the remainder of his stay in Europe he pursued his studies alone.

In August of the year 1782, being appointed to a writership in the Civil Service of Bengal, he proceeded to Portsmouth to embark. He was, while there, almost an eye-witness of the tragic event which impressed the mind of the poet Cowper more than the shock of the battle or the tempest, when a gallant ship sank at her moorings, carrying to sudden destruction Kempenfelt and his "twice four hundred men." The young writer was on the beach at the time, and his atten-

tion was suddenly arrested by the exclamation of some one near him, "Where is the Royal George?" He turned to the spot where the ship had been, and all had disappeared. One or two sailors, who escaped from the general doom, swam ashore, and related the strange circumstance of this unexampled calamity.

The fleet in which he sailed was convoyed, in the beginning of the voyage, by the powerful armament which was despatched for the relief of Gibraltar, then in the midst of its memorable siege. He loved to describe to his sons the magnificence of the spectacle, when the whole commerce of England with the East and West started on its voyage under the guidance of some forty sail of the line. Arrived at the latitude of Gibraltar, the different fleets diverged on their separate tracks, and the Indian fleet, after a tedious voyage,[1] arrived at the Madras roads in April, 1783. His first letter to his father recounts an accident far more appalling than that which had marked the commencement of his career. It also gives a clear and accurate account of a singular conjuncture in our affairs, when our power was weakened and almost paralysed by the divisions and jealousies of the civil, military, and naval authorities. The writer's forebodings with regard to the expedition to Cuddalore, which had fallen recently into the hands of the French, were fulfilled in the following month. Our troops were repulsed with heavy loss. The accounts of Colonel Mathews' success on the west coast proved true, and the Mysore ruler was obliged, in consequence, to withdraw his attention from the east coast.

"*Fort St. George, 9th May,* 1783.

"Honoured Sir,—Notwithstanding two French squadrons were cruising for us off Acheen Head and the Friar's Hood,

[1] I have a faint impression that the ship in which Mr. Colebrooke sailed touched at some port on the coast of South America. In a note to a volume on the state of the colonies of the Cape, edited by him, he mentions having witnessed a sale of slaves in the Brazils, and he certainly did not land there in any of his subsequent voyages.

in the island of Ceylon, the whole convoy arrived here in safety on the 16th April; but our good fortune appears to have deserted us on the 20th, when a most dreadful accident happened to one of our convoy. The Duke of Athol, Indiaman, took fire by neglect of the steward in drawing off rum in the lazareta, with a candle on the cask; and, upon her making a signal, the Admiral ordered a boat from each ship to her assistance. They immediately proceeded to throw the powder overboard, and wet that they could not get out; but, before this was totally effected, the fire reached the magazine and she blew up, presenting a spectacle too shocking for description. As her decks were at that instant chock-full of men, the number of lives lost is very great;—of the Navy, 7 lieutenants, 2 masters, 9 or 10 petty officers, and 70 seamen killed, and 30 wounded: the loss of the other Indiamen is still greater; all her ship's company have perished, excepting the captain (Rattray) and the purser, who were ashore, and two or three seamen who jumped overboard during the fire. Mr. Middleton (a young man for whom I had contracted a great esteem during our stay at Portsmouth) was blown up in her, had a thigh broken, and is since dead, much regretted by all who knew him. You, perhaps, recollect seeing him at dinner at Mr. Paxton's.

"On the 27th a misfortune happened scarcely less affecting, because a still greater national loss, the death of Sir Eyre Coote; he had a severe stroke of palsy at sea, on his way from Bengal hither, and died three days after he was landed. It is likewise to be feared that we have lost Sir Hyde Parker. The Hound sloop arrived here the 2nd May. She parted with the Cato off the Cape, and has lain some time at the rendezvous without hearing of her, whence it is concluded she is either lost or taken, though the captain of the Hound has not expressed any fears for her safety. Having sailed so little time after us, he brings us no news, for which we are very anxious, there being pretended intelligence overland of

a change of Ministry, and in the Council General; Lord McCartney is talked of as the future Governor-General. The army marched the 21st, on an expedition against Cuddalore, the only place, on the continent, now in the possession of the French. The success of this attack appears to me very doubtful; the French have more Europeans than us, and our Sepoys, although good troops in the field, will but ill supply that inferiority in the siege; but what is a far greater disadvantage, the Fleet will not co-operate with the Army, on account of some private quarrel between the Admiral and the Presidency. They sailed on the 1st May (after remaining three weeks here, for no purpose in the world), with the expectation of falling in with the French fleet to the southward. Suffrein, it is said, is reinforced, and that his force is nineteen ships of the line; ours is no more than eighteen, including 50-gun ships, but better appointed and as well manned as the French. What we have to expect from that quarter seems, then, very doubtful.

"The death of Sir Eyre Coote is one of the most unfortunate circumstances that could have happened at this time; the army had great confidence in him, and have none in General S——, however great his abilities are. The five lacs of rupees he brought down with him cannot be made use of (though the distress of the army for want of money beggars all description), because they are consigned to General Coote and his assigns, and orders from Bengal must be received with respect to the destination of the money, which cannot be expected before the 22nd May, and the St. Carlos with five lacs more will probably be here by the 12th or 13th.

"It seems generally believed here that Sir Eyre had power from the Council General to confine Lord McCartney, and put the Nabob of Arcot in possession of the consigned lands, which his death has delayed and possibly altogether prevented.

"I saw General Stewart before the army marched; he is in health and good spirits, but lives too freely for this country.

By means of his absence, I live altogether with Mr. Mitford, who is extremely obliging to me.

"The state of affairs in India seems to bear a far more favourable aspect than for a long time past. The peace with the Mahrattas and the death of Hyder Ally, the intended invasion of Tippoo's country by the Mahrattas, sufficiently removed all alarms from the country powers; but there are likewise accounts arrived, and which seem to be credited, of the defeat of Tippoo by Col. Matthews, who commands on the other coast. That something of this kind has happened, Tippoo having recalled his auxiliaries from the French army seems to evince.

"17*th May*.

"The St. Carlos, which I mentioned in the former part of my letter, arrived here the 10th, and the convoy of transports with rice, ammunition, and 600 Hanoverians under Col. Baron der Wagenheim, with General Bruce aboard, sailed for the south on the 14th, and will probably reach the army in five or six days; but the want of Massoula boats (boats built for crossing the surf) will be severely felt, not above twenty going down when one hundred would not be more than adequate to the purpose of landing the troops and cargoes with tolerable expedition.

"A Portuguese ship came into these roads two days ago, with an account of having fell in with a fleet a little to southward of Cuddalore, and that the French fleet were lying in Trincomalee Bay when she passed by it.

"Expecting to sail in two or three days in the "Tortoise," for Bengal, I shall close my letter with making a prayer to believe me

"Your dutiful and affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

On his arrival in Calcutta, he was received by his brother and resided with him. Edward, who was of a more mercurial temperament, described in his letters his younger brother as

a shy student, so sedentary as scarcely ever to have quitted his chair since he entered his house some months previously. Every endeavour was used to make Henry shake off habits dangerous to health in all countries, and peculiarly so in India, where the mind suffers so severely from the depressing effects of climate, exile, and, in remote stations, want of society. The success of his brother's endeavours are thus reported:—

"Henry has bought a saddle-horse, and of his own motion went last Sunday with me a fox-hunting. We ran long and hard, and yet he was not fatigued, and seems to have taken a liking to the sport; he even threatens to hunt once a week during the winter."

The taste for field sports, thus commenced, grew in a few years to something of enthusiasm. His early letters abound with allusions to his sporting expeditions. He was fond of riding, at one time kept hounds, and shot incessantly. Practice made him an excellent shot; a circumstance in which he took some pride, so much so that in his family circles in later life he seemed to take more pride in his feats as a sportsman, than in his literary achievements. Without question, the services which his brother rendered to him (and it may be added, to science) were very great. He was encouraged in pursuits healthy to both body and mind, at a time when he was unusually depressed by the gloom of his position; and he was at the same time withdrawn from some debasing tastes of the society into which he was thrown.

Sir William Jones, in a very modest preface to the first volume of the Transactions of the Society founded by him in 1784, bespeaks the favour of men of letters to this attempt to found a learned society in a community whose pursuits leave them little leisure for researches, whether in literature or science. But the picture here drawn by him feebly expresses the difficulties that attended the pursuit of literature at this period. It is to be remembered that Calcutta was still a commercial factory. The members of the East India Service, suddenly

called to the government of a great country, and permitted by the rules of the service to engage in private trade, had exhibited a rapacity which corrupted the public service, and brought the newly formed empire to the verge of ruin. The splendid achievements of its founders do not permit us to forget that their morality was low, their policy crooked, and that the acts which stain our early annals are only to be palliated by the difficulties of their singular position, and the absence of the check of neighbouring civilization. If the public morality of the heads of the community was low, what was to be expected from the inferior public servants, who had seen their predecessors and superiors suddenly enriched by the spoil of provinces, and who were encouraged by the condition of their service to look to private commercial gain as the sources of emolument.

Public attention at home had been tardily roused to the magnitude of the evil which threatened the very existence of the empire, and the plague was partially stayed; but the public service was still in a transition state; it can scarcely be said that the lax habits of the old *regime* were eradicated until the administration of Lord Cornwallis, whose measures, and, still more, the influence of his character and conduct, raised the service to that high tone which has distinguished it to the present day.

The letters of the two brothers bear evidence to the low morality, public and private, which prevailed. If to the causes above stated, we add that Indian society wanted the civilizing influence of educated females, it will not be a matter of surprise to hear that the prevailing vices were drinking and gambling. From the first Mr. Colebrooke was protected by strength of character and equal strength of head. The drinking bouts were immoderate, and only inspired him with disgust. In describing the excessive length of these sittings to his son, he would rather pride himself on the power of his brain which left him unaffected. From the vice of

gaming he ran some risk. He gave way to it on his first arrival; and his father, alarmed at the reports which reached him, wrote to caution him against it; his son's reply describes himself as having conquered the dangerous propensity. He certainly never again pursued it to excess, but he did not refuse to join in what was the usual pastime in the society of small stations. A gentleman who knew him some years later at Mirzapore, told his son that he would take part at the hazard table in the evening, and retire to his midnight Sanscrit studies unaffected by the excitement of the game.

These remarks will not be considered out of place when it is remembered that the life we are about to follow was noted for the pursuit of severe and abstract studies, rarely exceeded by the resident at an University or the inmate of a cloister. The love of letters was fostered while young, and was a part of his being. Against this were opposed all the distractions and want of sympathy of the society into which he was thrown, and still more the anxieties of his new position. His early letters exhibit signs of that home-sickness against which almost every young man sent to India has to contend. But there were circumstances in the times which rendered the situation of the Company's Civil Service peculiarly uncertain. The odium with which its members were generally regarded at home, which made Burke single out Warren Hastings to suffer for his own and the sins of the body, was then at its height, and the arrangements that were under discussion connected with the constitution of our Indian empire created an alarm that the East India Company would be deprived of its political patronage, and that, under the excuse of the new measures requiring new men, their old dependants would be made to shift for themselves or turned out to make room for those who were to reap the benefit of the threatened change. Well or ill founded as the fears on this score may have been, his letters clearly show the very general alarm that was entertained.

I will now proceed to give some extracts from his corres-

pondence with his family. I should preface them by stating that he remained unemployed in Calcutta for nearly a year. His father relied on the friendship of Hastings, who promised much out of gratitude for the support he had received from Sir George Colebrooke; but Hastings was even now on his trial before the public opinion of England, and his thoughts were turned homeward. Mr. Colebrooke was obliged to rest content with a small situation in the Board of Accounts, which gave him only scanty emolument, and which he held until his appointment as Assistant Collector of Revenue, in Tirhoot, in 1786.

His first letters throw very little light on his pursuits. They refer simply to his hopes of employment and to his disappointments, and add some scanty allusions to the events of the war. In September, 1783, three months after his arrival in Calcutta, he hopes to become his brother's assistant, in which case he would be enabled to save his allowances, and at least keep himself clear in the world. "I shall then," he adds, "apply for some one of the few appointments which my knowledge of the French language and manners make me particularly fit for. If I do not succeed, I must then employ my interest to be sent up the country, where, being out of the expensive way of living at Calcutta, I may avoid debts till I come in by seniority for a chiefship; if the charter of the Company and present mode of administration continue so long.

"You recommend my being assiduous in acquiring the languages. It is what I intend, but there is no danger of my applying too intensely. The one, and that the most necessary, Moors,[1] by not being written, bars all close application; the other, Persian, is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of any use that I seek its acquisition very leisurely. My voyage afforded but few things worth remembering, and my journal, being merely one of astronomical observations, is too dry to be

[1] Hindustani. In Clive's letters the Muhammedans are always spoken of as "the Moors."

deserving of your attention. I have made an attempt at an account of our transactions in a letter to George,[1] to which I would refer you, because, being at a distance from Calcutta on account of my health, I cannot refer to my notes of dates, etc."

The remainder of the letter is taken up with Indian politics, which are only cursorily touched upon, as he refers his father to his brother's letters for details. In a postscript there is a description of a tragedy which befel the passengers and crew of an Indiaman[2] which ran ashore on the coast of Africa, near Mozambique. Some of the crew made their way in the ship's boats to the Cape, and assistance was instantly sent to the spot by the French and Dutch, who found the bones of some ninety persons, and by torturing a Hottentot, who wore a lady's ring, they extracted from him the horrid description of a scene of outrage and murder, which ended in eating the crew, and lastly the ladies. The exultation of the society of Calcutta, on hearing that a former member of the Indian service had shared, with his wife, in the general massacre, is then described. It affords a fitting commentary on what has been said as to the low tone of morality then prevailing.

"All the gentlemen here seem to feel an avowed joy at the accident befalling Mr. ——. They look upon it as a judgment of Providence against the first informer, and hope it will deter others from following his example, first making a fortune by disgraceful practices, and then paying his court at home by throwing difficulties in the way of others."

The astronomical observations, referred to in the preceding letter, consisted of the usual daily nautical journal kept by mariners. In all his voyages he kept a log, which, on one occasion, embraced matters of scientific interest, and gave rise to an essay which appeared in a scientific journal (*vide* list of works at the end of this memoir).

The letters to his father, which succeeded the above, con-

[1] His eldest brother. [2] The Grosvenor.

tinue the narrative of his disappointment. After eight months of expectation from Mr. Hastings, he resolved to seek employment in the commercial branch of the service, and sent in an application to that effect. This decided step led to a renewed offer on the part of the Governor-General to bring the claims of the two brothers before the Council. "In consequence of this," Mr. Colebrooke adds, "I abandoned the application I had made to be admitted into the service of the Board of Trade, and, being disappointed, I am now at a loss how to renew such an application, or what other prospects to hold out to my ambition."

"To alleviate my mind," he continues, "when fatigued with country business and languages, I should be happy if you could send me a complete set of Latin and Greek Classics, the Glasgow edition, for example." This is one of the rare allusions to study that his early letters disclose. Mr. Hastings left India in the spring of 1785, and his successor showed so little favour to Mr. Colebrooke, that the plaintive tone of the preceding letter sank to one of despair. His prospects in India were now so gloomy, that in July, 1785, he asks the assistance of his father to embark in a new profession.

The letter announcing his resolve was evidently very carefully prepared, and is copied out on four large sheets of foolscap by the hands of a clerk, with the proper allowance of margin. It enters at some length into the state and prospects of the service generally. I make no apology for giving a full extract. The letter is dated July, 1785. It commences with an offer of assistance to a sister who had recently lost her husband in a duel at Paris, and then enters boldly on the state of the service:—

"The spirit of reformation which has seized the Bengal administration was at first managed with propriety; great objects alone occupied their attention, and economy was to be introduced in offices which could not be abolished, and what was unnecessary was to be abolished; but, as the service is overloaded with old servants, it was thought equitable to allow

a moderate subsistence to the unemployed, while those in employment would earn something more than mere necessaries of life towards laying by a competency when old age or infirmities should oblige them to abandon this inhospitable climate.

"Such were the features of the commencement of reform; but in the midst of this great work Mr. Hastings departed; and this inauspicious event was soon followed by another more evidently destructive of the well-being of the service, the arrival of Mr. Pitt's Bill. The numerous Collectors, with their assistants, had hitherto enjoyed very moderate allowances from their employers, and which could not be made an object of reform; but to these they were able to add some profits which were in no respect detrimental to their masters, and which, being both known and avowed, could not be reckoned dishonest. Presents of ceremony, called nuzzers, were to many a great portion of their subsistence; many, likewise, by their knowledge of languages, or by some other means or qualifications, were able to do work for natives, from whom they received a consideration for it. All these sources, and more which it were superfluous to recite, are now dried up by the operation of the Act; at least, it is now dishonest, nay, infamous, to draw aught from them; and the service is reduced to bare allowances from their employers."

After some details of the numbers of the public servants, and the scantiness of their allowance, he proceeds:—

"It would alarm you, could you transport yourself for an instant to this place, to see the distress and terror pictured in almost every countenance, under the actual operation of a load of debt, or the certain approaches of that burden. Even the parts of the Act intended for the benefit of the Company's service seem but little likely to avail us much. Several gentlemen have claimed appointments given to their juniors since the 1st of January; but the Board have as yet declined passing any decision upon them. However, on a gentleman's

endeavouring to enforce his claim by strenuous argument, he was told that his spirited conduct might cost him the service."

From this he turns to his own situation. His allowance during the first two years had been on a liberal scale; but it was now cut down to a bare pittance, and during the following year he had received barely £80. "You will agree with me," he adds, "that I am a considerable loser, both in time and money, by the service. Yet observe, further, for several years I have no prospect before me of receiving enough to maintain me; and the clauses in the Act relating to presents are so strangely worded, that the acceptance of a gratuity for work done, or even commissions in mercantile agency, might fall within the penalties of the Act.

"The points I have treated in the course of this letter will justify to you what I am now about to add. It is painful, after a sacrifice of time and prospects, to give up the line of life adopted, for a new one; but such is the situation of the country, that I would return home, if I could then enter into a becoming profession that would yield me the necessaries of life. If any means of so doing occur to you, I must beg of you to communicate them to me; but in this consideration you will have to weigh the injuries of the climate on the constitution, the manners of the inhabitants, and economical ideas of persons residing here."

After narrating his disappointment in not obtaining the situation of Assay-master, in which he had been encouraged by some friends, he concludes with an important resolve.

"I cannot terminate this letter without mentioning what I think will afford you some pleasure, that the passion for play you feared in me is conquered, that I have given up ever playing for money, and taken my leave of that practice a winner. I have adopted the custom of riding frequently, and find much benefit by the exercise."

His next letter is addressed to his mother, and bears date 28th February, 1786:—

"The truth is, India is no longer a mine of gold; every one is disgusted, and all whose affairs permit abandon it as fast as possible. The occurrences of this year have led me to reflections on the peculiarities of a residence in this part of the world, which leave me very undecided what course to adopt. Our prospects appear so much more precarious than formerly, that a wish has arisen in my mind, to prepare myself for a longer stay than I desire. It is easy to make oneself comfortable here; but it is seldom done, from the notion of returning early to Europe. Under these impressions, I have thoughts of setting myself down, for a few years, in a pleasant and solitary spot, with a little property, the improvement of which might employ my leisure, at the end of which time my rank in the service would probably bring me into the busy scene with rapid success. At present, the temper is vainly fretted in continual labour for inadequate allowances, subject to the impositions of tradesmen, and the oppressions of the court.[1] This has not yet been my case, but I am indeed a singular exception."

The letter which followed this is a curious one, and evidently cost the writer as much labour as that of the previous year, on the state of the civil service. It contains an elaborate scheme for the better regulation of the Government and service in Bengal. The proposition is very simple. As one source of the evils of the Government arose from the combination of the commercial, the revenue, and the diplomatic functions of the administration, he proposed to draw an impassable line between them, and train up every servant of the Government in one of these distinct lines, from the beginning; the separate branches of administration to be presided over by Boards,

[1] The Supreme Court. In this and another letter he enters into some details of its "oppressions." The law of arrest, harsh enough in England, was applied with severity to members of a service generally overburdened with debt, and gave rise to some scenes of violence, in which the arrests were resisted, and the parties resisting were treated roughly, and, as they thought, illegally. A "General warrant" was in one case issued against all abettors of the act of resistance.

under the direct superintendence of the Governor-General. The plan is worked out in financial detail, showing the care with which it was prepared; and it merits notice here, as showing how early his attention was directed to the anomalies of the composite Government under which he served.

The conclusion of the letter is devoted to a scheme for elevating the moral tone of the service. He assumes, for the sake of argument, that there was some ground for the charges of rapacity with which England was ringing, and that the desire for an early return to Europe was frequently the motive for this conduct. "Surely," he adds, "there must be something disagreeable in a residence in India, which operates with so much more force, in this case, than with other expatriated Englishmen." The reasons of their discontent are thus explained: "He finds, on his arrival, neither refined nor dissipated pleasures (unless sporting, drinking, and gaming); a female society wanting accomplishments, delicacy, and breeding. A climate not congenial impairs his constitution; and his temper is soured by disappointments. Nor is it a slight consideration, that the comforts of life, elsewhere common to all ranks, are here so expensive as to be within the compass of but few. Can it be a wonder, then, if the Indian so anxiously pants after the means of returning where the connections of his youth have remained, where many of those more lately formed have gone, and where alone he imagines happiness awaits him?

"But, were we to suppose the Indian fond of the climate, and indifferent to society and friendships,—in a word, unaffected by the evils we have described,—still would he feel a reluctance to the thought of ending his days here.

"Every man, however engaged in the active sphere of life, looks forward to the period when, contented with his acquisitions, he may fix them beyond the reach of precarious fortune, and, retiring from the busy scene, domesticate for happiness. But mistaken policy has raised obstacles to this. No landed property can be possessed in Bengal, excepting

within the limits of Calcutta; and a European is not even permitted to rent a farm; and, thus, are we precluded from a country life, the only source of enjoyment which can be found here. It is to be observed, that a few gentlemen have, at different times, made themselves estates here; but this was under the protection of the existing government, liable to loss and ruin from the caprices of their patrons, or their removal. Obviously, therefore, the object was speculations of no distant profit.

"Should these difficulties be removed, there can be little doubt but many persons would be desirous of settling themselves here, as planters, and would, consequently, wait more patiently for the slow advances of prosperity. Another very important consideration offers; whether the productions of the country would not be improved. That they would, appears highly probable; inasmuch as fortunes would be laid out in the improvement of land, which will, otherwise, be carried out of the country. Land, being now let by the year, is in a manner rackrented, and, being cultivated by none but the poorest of the people, gradually becomes less productive; and this has a manifest effect on the revenue.

"But, as I intend to trouble you with some strictures on the Company's revenue, wherein the subject now started will be more fully discussed, I shall stop here, making only one other observation, viz., that, since the late reforms have struck so deep at the means of acquiring independent fortunes, some consideration is due to those who are thus doomed to linger out their days in exile. Adieu, dear father.

"Yours faithfully,

"H. T. COLEBROOKE."

These crude speculations, into which he had been drawn by the accident of his own position in the service, are matured in his subsequent letters, and give rise to bold and decided opinions on the injurious consequences of the Company's

monopoly. They finally assumed shape and form in a work which he published many years later. The situation to which he was shortly appointed, as Assistant to the Collector of Revenue in Tirhoot, favoured this direction of his thoughts. He applied himself zealously to his official duties; and his talents and industry were soon appreciated by those under whom he acted, and, ultimately, by the Government. His letters occasionally express his fear lest, in the assumption of the government of the Company's possessions by the Crown, he and many of the old servants may be stranded, and compelled to embark in a new profession; and he even renews his wish to his father to anticipate the evil day by returning home at once. But, on the whole, his letters exhibit a healthy and vigorous tone: and he finally admits that his discontent has been unreasonable. "I have, at length, become sensible," he writes, "of the absurd habit into which I have inadvertently fallen, of uttering groundless and exaggerated complaints against the country, my situation in it, etc. The only solid objection to India is the great distance from our nearest friends, whom we cannot visit occasionally, as may be done from the West Indies, and almost any other foreign residence, except, indeed, Botany Bay."

CHAPTER II. 1786—1794.

Oriental Literature—Astronomy—Revenue Survey and Permanent Settlement—Bengal Husbandry and Commerce—Study of Sanscrit—Free Trade.

It was not until he had been more than three years in India, that we find, in his letters, the smallest allusion to Eastern literature and research. It has been already stated that he was frequently pressed, by his father, for information concerning the religion and literature of the Hindus. His letters show some interest in the subject, but chiefly on scientific grounds; and it may be questioned whether he would ever have engaged in the study of Sanscrit, had it not been for his interest in mathematics and astronomy. The false taste of Oriental poetry especially repelled him. It will be seen how slightingly he speaks of it in his letters of this date; and, in later life, he expressed himself even more strongly to his sons. The love of the marvellous was, in his opinion, the pervading spirit of Hindu literature. He was more measured in his criticism on that of Persia, and would compare the style of its poets to that which prevailed in England during the reign of Charles the Second, equally abounding in puerile conceits.

He writes from the neighbourhood of Patna, in November, 1786:—"In a letter received long since, you desired some information concerning the Hindu religion, etc. I cannot give you hopes of much satisfaction on those subjects. I have, indeed, at times turned my thoughts and devoted my enquiries to them; but so many difficulties and obstacles occur, as, joined to a want of leisure, may prove insuperable. Much of my time is given to business: what leisure I find for study shall be given to Arabic, by which alone an accurate know-

ledge of Persian can be obtained." He returns to the subject in the following month:—

"*Near Patna, December* 10, 1786.

"My dear Father,

"I have not been unmindful of the information required in your letter, nor had I been previously inattentive to the subject. I have perused most publications that related to such matters, and had verbal communications; but the result is unsatisfactory and desultory; and to connect the facts I have acquired, so as to offer you an attempt deserving notice, will require further knowledge, which I hope to obtain from the Brahmins of this district, who have long enjoyed renown and high estimation for profound learning.

"My leisure from business and laziness is not considerable; and some I appropriate to the study of Arabic, with a view of having the smattering necessary to understand Persian well; and some, to a systematic pursuit of the Mussulman law: and thus you must lay your account on slow and distant progress. I shall now, however, furnish you with observations on the Hindu divisions of time, which are interesting in themselves, and will show the precision of their astronomical knowledge in remote antiquity."

He then gives the divisions of the day into sixty ghurries, and their sexagesimal subdivisions into puls and bepuls, which had been communicated to him by some Brahmins, and compared by him with the account of a Muhammedan writer who had treated on the subject. After some criticism on one of the minuter subdivisions, in which he endeavours to reconcile the contradictions in Abul Fazel's account, and quotes the views of Mr. Burrow, an eminent astronomer in Bengal, who had written on the subject, he proceeds:—

"The Hindu astronomers distinguish four modes of reckoning time according to the motion of the sun and moon and an average month: *Soorj mass*, the solar month; *Chunder mass*,

lunar month; *Sawun mass*, average month; and *Neshutter*[1] *mass*.

"1. *Soorj mass* is defined as the time the sun is in one sign of the zodiac: of these there are twelve in the year, which is a complete revolution of the sun in his orbit, or the sidereal year. This they make to consist of 365 days, 15 ghurries, 30 pul, and 22½ bepul; reduced to our measure, 365 days, 6 hours, 12 minutes, and 9 seconds; which approaches, surprisingly, to the sidereal year according to European astronomers, $365^{d.}\ 6^{h.}\ 9'\ 10''\ 3'''$. But the solar year thence deduced approaches still nearer.

"The Brahmins estimate the annual precession at 54″: they would, therefore, have made the solar year 365 days, 14 ghurries, 35 bepul, 10 kishtenkust, 26, 27, 30, continuing the sexagesimal divisions:

or, in our measure, $365^{d.}\ 5^{h.}\ 50'\ 14''\ 4'''\ 10''''\ 39^{v.}$.

We make it $365^{d.}\ 5^{h.}\ 48'\ 49''\ 30'''$.

"2. *Chunder mass*, lunar month, is a complete synodical revolution from new moon to new moon. Twelve of these months make a year, stated as of 354 days, 22 ghurries, 1 pul, or, $354^{d.}\ 8^{h.}\ 48'\ 24''$:

consequently, the month is $29^{d.}\ 12^{h.}\ 44'\ 2''$.

European astronomers make it $29^{d.}\ 12^{H.}\ 44'\ 3''$,—

a difference so small as to permit my saying that they coincide.

"The lunar year begins in Aries, and is made to correspond with that of the *Soorj mass*, by the intercalation of one month, when the difference amounts to so much. This embolism[2] is called *Adhick mass*, vulgarly *Lound*. It may not be improper to add the subdivisions of the month: the one half is called *Shookul putch*; the other, *Kishen putch*; each has 15 *Tithi*.

"There are, also, some other divisions of the *Chunder mass*; but, being, mostly, relating to astrology, I choose to omit them.

"3. *Sawun mass*, average month, is of no general use, nor is it employed in eras. It is begun at pleasure on any day,

[1] *Nacshatra*, "asterism," or "constellation." [2] Intercalation.

and consists of 30 days; the year of 12 months. It can, therefore, only serve private convenience.

"4. *Neshutter mass.* I do not know the derivation of the word; but it describes the periodical revolution of the moon. It is divided into 27 mansions, through which the moon passes through the signs of the zodiac. But, besides these 27, another mansion has been named to me, *Abhijit*; on which I conjecture that (the 27 *Neshutters* answering each to a day,) the fraction 7h. 43′ 5″ is intercalated by some method, under the name of *Abhijit*.

"I hazard this conjecture contrary to my intention of inserting nothing of which I was not certain, because I think it more than probable, and some explanation seemed wanting.[1] The subject of *Neshutter Mass* being thus incompletely treated, I hold it the proper place to introduce an example of the mode of foretelling the fortune of days. They subdivide *Neshutter* into nine *Tarahs*, in the following order—*Jasmenion*, *Sompud*, *Bepud*, *Kayin*, *Petteree*, *Saduk*, *Kostomittro*, and *Ottemittro*.[2] They each answer to a day, and are, consequently, repeated in their order three times in the *Neshutter Mass*. Of these, *Bepud*, *Kostro*, and *Ottemittro*, are unlucky; and the days to which they correspond are held such on the birth of children; and they serve in casting nativities.

"This instance will, I suppose, suffice; nor will you ask me to communicate my astrological knowledge, which is more considerable than you would imagine.

[1] This ingenious conjecture is not repeated in Mr. Colebrooke's published works. He does indeed state, at the conclusion of his Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus, that "They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven and twenty-eight mansions, suggested evidently by the moon's period in days;" but he does not attempt to reconcile the anomaly of the double list. It is to be observed that *Abhijit* occupies a *fixed* position in the Indian Zodiac. In the *Súrya-Siddhánta*, and other works belonging to their later astronomy, it is placed between the 21st and 22nd divisions, and is carved out of the adjoining mansions. This would not bring the Hindu divisions to coincide with the moon's *varying* path, and hardly implies a knowledge of the inequality. The subject has called forth much learning and controversy, and is still involved in much obscurity.

[2] *Janma*, *Sampad*, *Vipad*, *Cshema*, *Pratyari*, etc. Vide *Jyotistattwa*.

"By what you have seen I doubt not of your being pleased at seeing such accurate determinations. I have some observations on their Joogs or long periods, and on some tables which have internal evidence of antiquity, and prove their knowledge of many points of astronomy and mathematics, which became involved in the darkness of declining literature, and have been revived by modern discoveries in Europe. But I shall defer arranging the materials, in hopes of further information, which is, however, extremely difficult to procure, after the long period of disuse and neglect of more modern Brahmins. In the meantime I request your indulgence, and am, honoured Sir,

"Your very affectionate son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

The preceding letter is very interesting, considering the age of the writer, who was in his twenty-second year, and the scanty information which was procurable on the subject of Hindu astronomy, at the time it was written. Little, indeed, was known in Europe, beyond what had been derived from the tables of Siam brought to Europe in 1687, and from the tables of Tirvalore communicated by M. le Gentil to the Academy of Sciences in 1772. The ingenious speculations of Bailly, which were grounded mainly on these papers, did not appear until the year following the bold announcement of Mr. Colebrooke's views.

I have given the letter fully, omitting some unimportant details, because it would be impossible otherwise to convey the writer's impressions on his first survey of a subject which has since been treated on so fully by himself and other scholars. The account of the four modes of dividing time is to be found in the Ayeen Akbery; and Mr. Colebrooke's account follows it very closely. The length of the sidereal year according to Hindu astronomers had been already made known to us through Muhammedan writings.[1] The measurement quoted

[1] It is quoted from Frazer's *History of Nadir Shah*, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1778.

above is that of Brahmagupta. But the reduction to European measurements, and the comparisons and conclusions drawn, are, evidently, his own.

From these studies he reverts to the current politics of the day. The decided bent of his mind towards active life at this period is clearly shown in his next letter.

"*July* 28, 1788.

"I am now to acknowledge your letters of February and March. Such enquiries as I may be able to make respecting the Trade and Manufactures, I shall not fail in; but I do not expect you will ever obtain satisfaction on these points. As for myself, (setting aside unfitness), leisure is wanting. The daily occupations of my station leave scarcely time for necessary relaxation, and certainly leave me but a small share of spirits for other pursuits, whilst the Board continue to censure our tardiness, in lieu of rewarding our diligence. With respect to obtaining the assistance of inquisitive persons, it will be less easy than you may have imagined. I know but two general descriptions of people in this country: I mean, men of business and men of pleasure, to both of whom such applications would seem ridiculous. If you except some two or three, there are no men of science; and, as for the *amateurs*, they are not numerous, and are, to the best of my judgment, nothing less than pedantic pretenders, who do not seek the acquisition of useful knowledge, but would only wish to attract notice, without the labour of deserving it: and this is readily accomplished by an ode from the Persian, an apologue from the Sanscrit, or a song from some unheard-of dialect of the Hinduee; of which the *amateur* favours the public with a *free* translation, without understanding the original, as you will immediately be convinced, if you peruse that repository of nonsense, the Asiatic Miscellany.

"I now proceed to your last (viz., of 5th March). The third volume of the 'Institutes of Akber' was, I believe, sent by Edward. If so, and it have miscarried, I will send mine.

The whole work is a dunghill, in which a pearl or two lie hid. I have never yet seen any book which can be depended on for information concerning the real opinions of the Hindus, except Wilkins' 'Bhagvat Geeta.' That gentleman was Sanscrit-mad, and has more materials and more general knowledge respecting the Hindus than any other foreigner ever acquired since the days of Pythagoras.

"You seem to expect that I should say something as to the treatment which the natives of Hindustan have experienced at the hands of the English. I certainly have been long enough in the country to have formed my opinion; and, not having been concerned in a single act of rapacity, that opinion is impartial: but it would take much time to put my ideas into any kind of order. I shall, therefore, just set down a few desultory thoughts. The conduct of our armies has never been marked with cruelty or rapacity. The fortunes which have been acquired in the military line have, with few exceptions, been acquired at the expense of Government, not at that of the people. The exceptions I allude to will be explained hereafter, and do not relate to the conduct of men in the field. The English have not, in the least, assimilated with the natives, nor ever carried on social intercourse with them. The cause of this is not so much in the English themselves resident in these countries, as in the regulations of Government, which have confined the Europeans to the Presidency, and to the principal factories, where it would be strange if they sought the society of the natives, while a numerous society offered itself of their countrymen, whose manners, of course, correspond with each individual's habits, to which those of a native are almost diametrically opposed. Prohibited from acquiring property in land, or even being any ways concerned in its culture, an European can never think of a permanent settlement in the East. He feels himself an alien, a bird of passage; he can never make himself comfortable and secure; and, therefore, he looks, with an anxious eye, to the moment

when he shall have a home, which can only be had in Europe. Why else are so many Europeans content to end their days in America? even in the West India Islands? And why does it never occur, in the happier climate of Bengal, to fix one's residence for life in the 'Paradise of Regions?' The religion and manners of the Muhammedans do not assimilate more easily with the disposition and prejudices of Hindus than do those of the English. But Muhammedanism and Christianity are more nearly and easily connected; and I think I might venture to assert, that, if permitted, many Europeans would settle in the internal part of the Company's dominions, and, in a short period, live in habits of familiarity with the neighbouring natives.

"Whatever be the cause, the fact is certain, and the consequences obvious. Never mixing with natives, an European is ignorant of their real character, which he, therefore, despises. When they meet, it is with fear on one side, and arrogance on the other. Considered as a race of inferior beings, by the appellation of black fellows, their feelings are sported with, and their sufferings meet no more compassion than those of a dog or monkey.

"Contemptuous treatment is, however, the only injury usually received at the hands of their modern conquerors. It has been reserved only for a few chosen spirits to shock their religious prejudices, and to take their property by violence, fraud, or any of the modes which rapacity dictates. Nor do I believe that many instances occurred of that kind in this part of Hindustan, except during the administration of Mr. Hastings. Of the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar I do not pretend to speak; but, in Bengal, our wars and public measures, with the exception of the successive depositions of Jaffier Aly and Cossim Aly, seem perfectly justifiable. During the period which followed the acquisition of the Dewany, the Nazims were oppressed, the stipendiaries defrauded, and the treasures of the Company wasted; but the people were governed by

nearly the same rules, and the taxes levied from them upon much the same principles, as under the former government.

"It was Mr. Hastings who filled the country with Collectors and Judges, who adopted one pursuit,—a fortune. Ignorant of the business on which they were employed, the members of provincial councils, and the Collectors, entrusted the management of affairs to their dewans. These harpies were no sooner let loose upon the country, than they plundered the inhabitants, with or without pretences, and, as a price of the sacrifice of every principle of honour, rendered to their employers a small proportion of their ill-gotten pelf. Justice was dealt out to the highest bidders by the judges, and thieves paid a regular revenue to rob with impunity. In this description I would not be understood without exceptions: on the contrary, I am induced to hope that near a third of the servants of the Company employed in such posts can boast unspotted consciences. But I fear the people have still been oppressed by their servants, though not with their knowledge, or for their advantage.

"The matter is now altered: the revenue servants, for the most part, understand and perform their duties, justice is impartially administered, crimes repressed, as far as in them lies, and the people are not oppressed for private lucre. The Collectors and their assistants know how to make a profit, without detriment to an individual; but even this is not now in practice.

"But it is not alone for the employing Europeans in administering justice and collecting the revenues, that the administration of Mr. Hastings has excited the murmurs of the Hindus. Nor did his crooked politics and shameless breach of faith affect any but the princes and great men. The deposition of zemindars, the plundering of begums, the extermination of the Rohillas, may be forgotten; but the cruelties acted in Goruckpore will for ever be quoted to the dishonour of the British name. My pen could not be equal to do justice

to my feelings upon this subject. Mr. Burke, no doubt, will paint the scenes in glowing colours; and many witnesses are now in England, able and willing to prove the tyranny. This is, no doubt, that *something* the prosecutors have to produce against Mr. H., the masked battery mentioned in your letter before me.

"But it is not the conduct of individuals that belongs to this question: the system upon which the British dominions have been governed in the East has more affected the happiness of the people. To regulate nations, as an article of trade, for the profit which is to be derived, seems a solecism in politics. Not to mention monopolies of salt and opium, or the principles upon which the Company's investment has been provided, I may confine myself to the stretching the land-rents to the utmost sum they can produce. A proprietor of an estate under the Mogul government seldom paid half of the produce of his estate, and, in small properties, much less: he was, further, allowed to take credit for a certain sum by way of pension, or held rent-free lands in lieu thereof. Under the Company, a landholder is allowed ten per cent. of the net produce as his share (if the lands be managed by another person); and this frequently occurs. An adventurer offers an enhanced rent; his proposals are accepted, he rack-rents the estates, the cultivators emigrate, and he leaves the property reduced perhaps to a third of its value. Sooner than be exposed to this, the landholder will often engage on the enhanced rates; but here a less ruin does not await him. Unable to make good his engagements, he falls into the grasp of the extortioner, his property is sold in liquidation of his balance. To elucidate this subject fully would require much time, and might expose me to blame; but I have said enough to justify my conclusion, that, although the conduct of the English in Hindustan has been misrepresented, and the crimes of a few exaggerated, and received as a specimen of the characters of the whole, yet the treatment of the people has

been such as will make them remember the yoke as the heaviest that ever conquerors put upon the necks of conquered nations. By this time you have, not improbably, repented having drawn me to this subject; and I, therefore, may quit it, never to treat it again, unless more fully, when it can be done at leisure by the fireside.

"I have another query to reply to, viz., whether I make great progress in Arabic. I must acknowledge that vain-glory, to which I am too much addicted, could alone have induced me to say anything on the subject. What I did say I do not recollect; but I never took up the pursuit but with a view to improve my knowledge of Persian,—in which I at present have only acquired the language of business,—and most of the classical books of which are unintelligible to one ignorant of the Arabic. The study, undertaken with many disadvantages, was never followed up with sufficient diligence; and the last twelve months have afforded me no leisure that I could be disposed to employ otherwise than in relaxation. Thus much I am induced to believe, that the Arabic language is of more difficult acquisition than Latin, or even than Greek; and, although it may be concise and nervous, it will not reward the labour of the student; since, in the works of science, he can find nothing new, and, in those of literature, he could not avoid feeling his judgment offended by the false taste in which they are written, and his imagination being heated by the glow of their imagery. A few dry facts might, however, reward the literary drudge. . . . . .

"Observing, in a private letter, that Mr. Burke has given great praise to Mr. Patterson, the *Rungpore Investigator*, I beg to enter my solemn protest against your belief of his merits. Mr. Patterson's report was not founded upon evidence taken and upon facts ascertained. Sent up to investigate accusations preferred against Raja Deby Sing, he received every petition presented, however improbable the facts asserted, and drew up his report upon no better ground than the tenour

of the complaints delivered to him. To take the force of this remark, you should be apprised, that, to attract attention, a native of this country aggravates the plain matter of his complaint with a variety of circumstances which have no foundation in truth. He neither attempts nor is required to adduce proof of these adventitious circumstances, which all parties know the falsehood of: the act of oppression or extortion alone constitutes the merits of the case. When that is proved, justice is done to him; and the falsehood and exaggeration sink into oblivion. The case is much the same in our Courts at home. No man would form his opinion of the character of a defendant from the terms in which a Bill in Chancery is worded. It is for such a report, and so prepared, that Mr. Burke has selected Mr. Patterson for his hero, unaware that a respectable Commission, consisting of three gentlemen of known abilities and integrity, with diligence unremitted during many months, investigated those matters, and that the result of their inquiries, and the whole purport of a large body of evidence, from witnesses produced on both sides, proved the assertions in Patterson's report groundless.[1]

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

[1] Mr. Patterson's report carries an interest with it as being that from which Burke, in his opening speech upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, drew a series of painful details, which created the most powerful effect upon the minds of his auditory. "In this part of his speech," says the compiler of the history of the trial, "Mr. Burke's descriptions were more vivid, more harrowing, and more horrific, than human utterance, on either fact or fancy, perhaps, ever formed before. The agitation of most people was very apparent: and Mrs. Sheridan was so overpowered that she fainted."

Burke follows up his narrative of Deby Sing's oppressions, with some details of the history of this second commission, and contends that there was an attempt, on the part of the Government, in Calcutta, to suppress or invalidate Patterson's report. The latter is said, by Burke, to have been throughout treated as an accuser, and barely allowed a hearing before the commission. Additional light has, since the publication of the letter in the text, been thrown on this episode in Warren Hastings' trial, by the late Professor Wilson, in his edition of Mill's *History of British India.* In a note to that part of the work which refers to the transactions at Rungpore, Wilson quotes the passage in Mr. Colebrooke's letter,

From Tirhoot, to which Mr. Colebrooke was appointed in 1786, he was transferred to an office of the same grade in Purneah. The change, which took place in April, 1789, was made at the solicitation of the Collector of the latter place, who was anxious for the assistance of one whose reputation for official abilities was now well known. The revenue settlement completed during Lord Cornwallis's administration, and ultimately declared permanent, was now in full progress; and Mr. Colebrooke, in describing to his son this important period of his career, attributed his first rise to the fortunate circumstance of being placed under a Collector who idled away his office-hours, and allowed much of the ordinary and extraordinary duties of the Collectorship to devolve on himself. In so confined a community as that of the Indian Civil Service at this period, the character of each member could not fail to be soon known. The duties of his new position were of a special nature; and, though they were conducted under the nominal superintendence of the Collector of the district, they soon led to the full recognition of his abilities. His brother, in writing home, thus announces his appointment:—

"Graham has succeeded in getting Henry named on a deputation to investigate the resources of all Purneah, and increase the Company's revenue there. The Council was going to employ a commissioner; but Graham contended, that, while a man of Henry's abilities was head-assistant there, no other person should be employed. Henry is so pleased with the business, and so sanguine in his hopes, that he declares that he would not change situations with any man in the service."

His own report of the conclusion of his exertions is thus given on the 15th December, 1789:—

bearing on the subject, and adds, that Patterson, alarmed at the effect which Burke's oratory had produced, addressed him, with a view to qualify those passages in his report which bore against Hastings. This brought down on him a thundering letter from Burke, calculated to alarm a timid man, and compel him to adhere to his original statements. Burke's letter, which was in Mr. Wilson's possession, is given in full.—Mill's *History*, vol. V., p. 109.

"I am at present engaged in a work for the success of which I feel all the solicitude of a young author. It is not a literary piece, or a work of science, but a ten years' settlement of some of the districts of this collectorship, in concluding which I have had the honour to assist. You will, at first, think the solicitude I mention excessive; but you must consider, that this settlement has always been considered as the principal object of the present government, for which three years have been spent in preparing, and from which Lord Cornwallis hopes to reap the greatest applause, and that his resentment will be incurred, if his views are not answered. My anxiety is not on my own account; but I find myself more anxious for the success of measures, where the responsibility rests with another, than I should be, if I were to answer for them myself."

In the following July he reverts to the subject, but under feelings of some mortification. The first of the following letters is addressed to his mother:—

"I was obliged to visit Calcutta last March, after an absence of three years. It was a kind of pride with me to avoid seeing that town again, which I hoped not to revisit but when bound for Europe. But it was otherwise ordered; and, in consequence of promotion, I was obliged to attend the seat of government. My stay, however, was short; and I returned, to continue my travels in the wilds of Purneah, which I have now traversed in almost every direction; having, ever since the commencement of December (with few, and those short, intervals), been marching about and living in tents; and I expect to have to continue this practice for one month more, when Government will, I hope, allow me to enjoy my home. I am grateful for the honour done me; but, as that is not increased by the duration of it, I shall be happy when the business I am employed on is completed, and I can have a little relaxation.

"I had great pleasure in hearing of Mary and Louisa's marriages, which, from the accounts of the characters and good

qualities both of Mr. Traill and Captain Sutherland, will, I hope, turn out very happy matches, and that my sisters will never regret the want of fortune, which seems to be of very little benefit to most of those who enjoy it,—of so little, that, if I do not misjudge myself, I shall be satisfied with so small an independence, that any lucky chance may throw it in my way. But it is impossible to be confident of being easily satisfied. I have seen my friend Garstin's ideas rise with his acquisitions: twice or thrice he has exceeded the sums to which he had limited his wishes; and he seems to think, now, that £40,000 is indispensably necessary to live in England. It appears to me, that the annuity which might be had for the eighth part of that sum would be ample for a sedate and moderate man. Pray encourage me in the idea; and I shall hope that a very few years may restore me to those friends whose society is wanting to the happiness of your affectionate and most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

"*Purneah, 25th July,* 1790.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I have to thank you for two letters received since I last wrote. I acknowledge the justice of the reproof conveyed in your letter of January last. The religion, manners, natural history, traditions, and arts of this country may, certainly, furnish subjects on which my communications might, perhaps, be not uninteresting; but to offer anything deserving of attention would require a season of leisure to collect and digest information. Engaged in a public and busy scene, my mind is wholly engrossed by the cares and duties of my station; in vain I seek, for relaxation's sake, to direct my thoughts to other subjects; matters of business constantly recur. It is for this cause that I have occasionally apologized for a dearth of subjects, having no occurrences to relate, and the matters which occupy my attention being uninteresting as a subject of correspondence. If this

was the case when I was an obscure individual, it is become more so since Government has ordered me on novel enquiries. When I first entered on the charge, feeling myself not unequal to the undertaking, my natural aversion to responsibility was silenced by the sanguine hope of distinguishing myself. It afterwards appeared that my instructions were erroneous; and they were, after several months, new-modelled. Disgusted with having laboured so long without its answering any purpose, my execution of their second orders will not be answerable, I doubt, to what is expected, and is somewhat slovenly. I shall be satisfied if I now obtain a tithe of the applause I first hoped for; and I am now determined never again to stand in a situation of responsibility, while I can have a subsistence without it." . . . .

He turns from this subject to Indian politics, and the war with Tippoo, and from thence, by an easy transition, to the threatening aspect of European affairs. It is curious to find one whose political sentiments were of a very sober cast, kindling with enthusiasm at the glorious prospect which he thought the eighteenth century exhibited, as it drew to its close. "Were not," he adds, "the Revolution stained with such ferocious barbarities, it would be a noble example to future ages, and to countries where despotism is yet unrestrained. It would be a curious subject of speculation, to consider the probabilities of similar events in Asia. The spirit of liberty is not so foreign to the Asiatic character as our philosophers hold. Whoever attends to the writings of the Hindus will perceive they are not slaves by principles of religion or government. The distinctions of castes impose no more than an hereditary subordination; the declared principle that the ruler is intrusted with power for the benefit of the subjects, found everywhere in those of their writings which treat of government, all correspond with the doctrines of implied compacts, which now prevail in Europe. No nation universally holding such opinions would have submitted to a national

despotism. It has been introduced into Hindustan by a foreign rule. The Muhammedan religion is a despotic one; but, even among the Musulmans, you may distinguish nations, such as the Afghans, in whose character a spirit of equality and independence inheres, which, if it be not the same thing, bears a close resemblance to the spirit of liberty; and, accordingly, you see similar effects from it,—moderate government, good order, and flourishing trade and agriculture. I will quote the Rohillas as an example, and content myself with having named them; for an Englishman cannot think of them without blushing for the unprovoked ill-treatment they received at our hands. I must, however, add, that the different prosperity of the country which they conquered and improved, with that of the countries under English rule, seems to prove that there is some defect in our policy.

"The defect is, I hold, in the restrictions on Europeans settling in the country. The regulations which restrain all persons, not holding official stations, to reside at the Presidency, viz., Calcutta, and which forbid Europeans from purchasing or renting land, were necessary when introduced, viz., when the avidity for making rapid fortunes, which pervaded every description of British subjects,—upon the sudden and unexpected influence acquired by the English in Bengal,—threatened the country with ruin. They might be modified, when that eagerness has almost totally subsided; and most of us would be now happy to colonize, instead of seeking, as formerly, to acquire great riches to be enjoyed in Europe. Permit us to settle; and depend on it you will see but few instances of rich Indians returning to Europe.

"Not being able, for reasons explained in the beginning of this letter, to discuss any subject in a connected manner, I will throw together a few detached observations on such points as seem likely to be new to you, without caring for the *apropos*.

"I had been accustomed to consider as fabulous the accounts

of the *Psylli*[1] of Egypt; but I have here learned, not only that snakes may be charmed, but that there exists an antidote by using which we may defy the venomous bites of the most mortal snakes. Snake-catchers are, in this country, numerous; it is followed by some as a profession, it is practised by others "par plaisir." They are not hereditarily so,—as *Psylli* are said to have been,—neither are their bodies naturally or artificially secure from the poison of the snake. They depend on their address in laying hold of him in such a manner that he cannot bite, which is easily done by any person who is not fearful. The art of charming consists only in beating a small cymbal, furnished with small pieces of metal, which gives a tinkling monotonous sound, and which they accompany with a song equally monotonous. The snake readily obeys the summons, and, quitting his hole, glides gently towards the charmer, who seizes him so soon as he raises his crest, and has approached within reach.

"The antidote of which I spoke is nothing else but opium; the certainty of it is established by numerous and well-conducted experiments made by a Mr. Glass, a surgeon on this establishment, who has amused himself, for several years, in making experiments with all kinds of snakes, and making them bite various animals. He found that opium, administered before the bite, was a never-failing preventive; that, administered after the bite of a mortal snake, it did not avail, but, on the contrary, the animal invariably died, and no other medicine

[1] A Libyan tribe, supposed, by Pliny and other ancient writers, to have been not merely skilled in serpent-charming and healing those bitten by venomous reptiles, but to have been, like the ichneumon, proof against the poison. Some of the tribe accompanied Cato's army on their march through Libya, and are thus described by Lucan, *Pharsalia* ix., 891-896:—

"Gens unica terras
Incolit, a sævo serpentum innoxia morsu,
Marmaridæ Psylli: par lingua potentibus herbis:
Ipse cruor tutus, nullumque admittere virus,
Vel cantu cessante, potest. Natura locorum
Jussit, ut immunes misti serpentibus essent."

A similar account is given of an Italian tribe, the *Marsi*. Æn. vii., 750.

whatever, nor any of the boasted antidotes, such as volatile alkali, etc., had any effect, whether administered before or after the bite, whether given internally or applied externally.

"His experiments have also established a very curious fact, that the ichneumon, or mungoos, which is very common in this country, and kills snakes without danger to itself, does not use antidotes,—as was supposed, and even asserted,—nor avoid the bite by address, but that the poison of snakes is, to this animal, innocent. He has confined a mungoos and mortal snake (generally, a hooded snake) together in a cage: the mungoos, if not hungry, showed a perfect indifference to his companion, neither killing him nor avoiding his threatening fangs. At other times, he has offered the mungoos to the bite of an enraged hooded snake; but the mungoos has not suffered by the poison. He has repeated these experiments under different circumstances, after confining the mungoos, for a long space of time, to a particular diet, but without any different result.

"The particulars of these experiments on the diet of this little animal I have not heard. I should be disposed to conjecture, that, like the rust of Achilles' spear, the flesh of the snake may be an antidote to its poison.

"As a subject not quite unconnected, I must mention that I had, within a few months, occasion to learn (and which I learnt with no small surprise), that the belief in witchcraft is so universal on the Northern frontiers, where I lately passed much time, that the tenants regularly deliver a stated quantity of grain (equal to about 10lbs.), for every plough, to the professed wizard, as his fee for protecting the crop, by his incantations, from the wild elephants, and the person and family of the tenant from the malevolence of the *dives* or fairies of the Morung.

"That such superstition should prevail in those remote countries is not surprising; but that it should be carried to such a length as to make witchcraft an avowed profession, and both honourable and profitable, is, I believe, unparalleled.

"I was interrupted when I got thus far, and have been, ever since, travelling, and have not been able to resume writing. The ship by which this is to go is advertised for sailing in a very few days. I cannot, therefore, defer closing my letter, though unfinished.

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

The spirit of the resolution expressed at the commencement of the preceding letter did not cling to him long. The "sanguine hope of distinguishing himself" impelled him to new exertions; and he now began to plan some literary work. All his letters of this date show a becoming confidence in his own powers, and an independence of tone which led him to check, rather than encourage, the interposition of friends or relations to promote his rise in the service. That, he felt, was assured; but he aimed at something more. At the close of this year (1790), he first broaches the scheme of becoming an author.

"*Purneah, November* 17, 1790.

". . . . . I have frequently had it in my mind to attempt something on subjects relative to this country. The question is, on what to employ the pen. Translations are for those who rather need to fill their purses than gratify their ambition. For original compositions on Oriental history and sciences is required more reading in the literature of the East than I possess, or am likely to attain. My subject should be connected with those matters to which my attention is professionally led.

"One subject is, I believe, yet untouched,—the agriculture of Bengal. On this I have been curious of information; and, having obtained some, I am now pursuing enquiries with some degree of regularity. I wish for your opinion, whether it would be worth while to reduce into form the information which may be obtained on a subject necessarily dry, and which (curious, perhaps,) is, certainly, useless to English readers.

"The objects of enquiry are as follows:—

"Description and uses of the implements of husbandry.

"These are few and simple, as are the tools of every description of mechanics in this country. To a European this appears great backwardness in improvement. I think so, too; but it may be questioned whether we have not refined too much, and are not too fond of machinery. In most instances, the *simple utensil of the naked native* completes the work nearly as well and much cheaper than the contrivances of any European mechanic that has yet employed his skill here.

"Different species of grain and other articles of agriculture, as also of pot-herbs, fruits, and other articles of gardening.

"There are near a hundred different kinds of rice, requiring different soils and culture. Most of the fruits and grain in general use here are unknown in Europe. Of such, botanical descriptions must be given.

"What castes of Hindus are forbid cultivating, and what castes have religious prejudices against the culture of particular articles.

"Brahmins, Rajpoots, Kehterees, Koits, and many others would lose their castes, were they to handle a plough or a spade: the rule has, however, exceptions. Brahmins of a particular race are husbandmen; and, what is remarkable, no such exceptions occur, so far as I am informed, in castes inferior to Brahmins. The castes who have objections to cultivate have none, however, to rent lands, and to cultivate them by slaves and servants. By the bye, the term of *Raiots* is, I believe, misunderstood at home. Most Raiots are of these castes: the real cultivator is seldom the Raiot; a Raiot is rather a farmer than a husbandman.

"The different soils, as distinguished by the natives.

"The country being a uniform plain, the differences of soil are few. The natives distinguish the situation of the land, rather than the quality of the soil.

"To what soils, and for what produce, manure is used; and what manures, and how laid on.

"Manure is very little used in Bengal. This and the preceding query will, therefore, not draw much information.

"The process of agriculture, from the ploughing to the harvest; specifying the season for ploughing, the number of ploughings for land in constant cultivation, and fallow, and waste grounds; the mode of laying out the fields for different articles; the seasons for transplanting, weeding, and gathering; the proportion of seed in the several modes of culture, and the average produce.

"Succession and mixture of crops.

"On the subject of the succession of crops, the Hindus have some traditional maxims, to which they rigidly adhere. I do not, however, expect this to be so interesting as one would suppose traditional maxims would be in a nation who have preserved remains of an age of science and refinement. The mixture of crops is little practised in Europe, and is universal in Bengal. It is the most interesting point of Indian husbandry. Two, three, or even four different articles are sown in the same field, and gathered successively, as they ripen. They are sometimes sown all on the same day; sometimes, at different periods. I think it probable that this practice is ill-judged; but, being universal in these provinces, it should not be hastily condemned, but undergo the test of experiment.

"Estimates of the expense of cultivation and profits of husbandry, in which must be particularized the price and hire of cattle and of implements of husbandry, the pay of servants and labourers, cost of seed, and value of the produce; referring, also, to the rent of the land, and the risk of the seasons, etc.

"Descriptions of arts and manufactures practised in the cottage of the husbandmen, such as inspissating the juice of the sugar-cane, expressing oil, drying tobacco, carding

cotton, cleaning rice, preparing flax, spinning, weaving, etc. This must be accompanied with estimates of expense and profit.

"I have already remarked on the simplicity of the tools of Bengalee artisans. I am perpetually admiring how they accomplish their work with such materials. This nation does not seem entitled to a character of ingenuity; yet their aptness at substitutions is often surprising. If an ingenious person were to inform himself thoroughly on the arts here, he might, probably, have it in his power to offer many useful hints to European manufacturers. No art deserves the enquiry more than that of dyeing.

"Management of cattle, both for dairies and breeding; the disorders incidental to cattle, their cure, the expense and profit attending the grazing business.

"In some parts of Bengal, it is usual to carry the cattle, at stated seasons, to pasture in distant countries, even out of the Company's provinces; and the graziers have a prejudice, that, if they did not go, the cattle would perish. There is something similar to this in Europe, I think. The sheep-walks of Spain.

"To complete all these enquiries would be impossible; but, with attention and perseverance, a good deal may be learnt. Might it be expected that information on this subject, interspersed with observations on the advantages and disadvantages of the methods in use, and the tendency which the different tenures by which land is held in this country have to encourage or discourage British settlers;—might it be expected that such a work would reward the author with honour, or profit?

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

I have given, thus fully, this "dry" detail of his inquiries; because they are eminently characteristic of the writer, and are not without interest in the present day, though many of the points touched on are familiar to English residents in India.

He naturally deals chiefly with those parts of native husbandry which differ most from European practice; the simplicity of their implements, the handiness of their artizans, and the mixture of crops sown together, but reaped at different times. But the inquiry embraced a wide field; and the subject was very fully treated in his work on the husbandry of Bengal.

He returns to the subject in several of his letters of this date. The secluded life he was now leading favoured such inquiries. "As for myself," he writes, "I have been mostly taken up with occupations of public business; employing, as usual, what leisure I have had, in the sports of the field. Too much earnestness in the last has been the cause of a slight indisposition, which, though thoroughly removed, has contributed to my performing, at this time, an old promise of a visit to Grant, at Bhaugulpore. It has required an effort to overcome the reluctance which Grant's late marriage (having filled his house with female friends) raised in me, after seven years' disuse of female society.

"I am, however, on my way, and have been so much engaged by the game, that, though I began this near Purneah, I am actually near Bhaugulpore, in concluding it; for the partridges, etc. have taken up my whole time. If the dread of female attractions should lead me (which is not improbable) to pass all my time hunting and shooting, I shall lose an opportunity of writing to all my friends at home."

Some of these leisure hours were given to studies or speculations.

"I shall persevere," he says, in a letter written in February, 1791, "in a mode, begun in my last, of appropriating a corner in each letter to some remarks on the country. However desultory and uninteresting my first communications on this head may prove, perseverance in the practice will induce a disposition to observe; and remarks digested at leisure may prove, when transmitted, deserving of attention." He proceeds to give a short account of the Seics, then rising into public

notice in the north-west of India, but spreading, as a religious body, even in Bengal. He had been called upon, as a magistrate, to decide some question between members of this persuasion and the head of a "convent;" and his attention was drawn to their numbers. He adds: "The sect of the Seics has been long known to you from their political importance. They will be brought into notice, in England, by their having lately carried off an officer of rank of the Bengal army, and by the movement of a considerable part of our force, in the Vizier's country, towards them. Some account of their tenets or worship has been published by Mr. Wilkins.[1] I think it is in the European Magazine for some month in 1789. It may not, however, be known, that they are spread over the whole face of the land, and are, now, more numerous, in these provinces, than any other sect of faqueers. Considering how formidable Muhammedan as well as Hindu faqueers have been, when united, and with how much difficulty they have been reduced (and, indeed, at this moment, the Muhammedan faqueers are plundering the northern provinces of Bengal), it must be admitted, that, connected as they are with the settled Seics, the wanderers of the same persuasion may occasion us, some time or other, much trouble."

The discovery, by the police of Calcutta, of the preparations for a human sacrifice at the shrine of the goddess Calee, suggests the following remarks:—

"That human sacrifices are a part of the religion of the Hindus, and are secretly performed, I early heard, but with no belief. Enquiries from pundits and others obtained nothing but a stiff denial. Reverting to those who affirmed the fact, I had the unsatisfactory answer, that, the Muhammedan conquerors having early denounced capital punishment against the

[1] It appears in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, and gives a description of a "College," at Patna, containing a place of worship, and the means of instruction in the tenets of the sect. Mr. Wilkins attended the ceremonies, and showed so great a desire for information on their opinions, that he was invited to join the fraternity,—an offer which he declined.

sacrifices, the ceremony had been, for centuries, performed with impenetrable secresy.

"I say this is unsatisfactory; because no account exists of such sacrifices being avowedly performed in Mahratta or Rajpoot territories, where the Hindu religion still reigns uncontrolled; nor did I ever hear of a trace of this practice in the religious books, the history, or the traditions, of periods antecedent to Muhammedan invasions.

"The first, above mentioned, can only be reconciled to the supposition that the practice, however followed, is not so justified by the tenets or prejudices of the Hindus as to admit the avowal, but is the deed of darkness, the deed without a name."

The fanciful hypothesis to account for a succession of bad seasons in India, with which the following letter commences, illustrates one of the characteristics of the writer's mind,—to seek for general causes to account for natural phenomena of every-day observation. Many years later (in 1818), when he contended against our reliance on home-supplies of corn for the food of the population of this country, he expressed his belief in a change of climate similar to that which he supposed to be in operation in Bengal. The passage will be found below.[1]

[1] "A marked deterioration in the climate of England has been, for years, gradually taking place. This position rests not on loose observation and vague assertion of garrulous commenders of gone-by time. It is demonstrated by facts which are established beyond reach of contradiction;—by the continued failure of fruits formerly cultivated with better success, and by comparison of meteorological journals. Fruit-trees, which bore abundant crops in out-door exposure, no longer do so. Vineyards have ceased to exist. Orchards are fast ceasing: not merely from the failure and disappearance of particular varieties,—a decay to account for which a Taliacotian theory has been devised, that considers scions and slips as a multiplied individual,—but from the undoubted decline of the entire species.

"If the indisputable facts, to which allusion has been here made, be joined with others that directly concern corn, and are not less known and admitted, the lateness of harvest, the frequency of bad seasons, the disproportionate quantity of unripened or ill-ripened corn, it must be acknowledged to be no visionary apprehension, which hints that England is ceasing to be a wheat-country. Unless climates have their periods, and, after passing through a course gradually worse, arrive at a point from which they begin to mend; and unless the climate of England have nearly

"*Purneah*, 8*th December*, 1791.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"The unsteadiness of the seasons, for several years past, might furnish ample matter for speculation. India, once fortunate in the regular succession of seasons, has, of late, experienced the calamities of famine and epidemics with unusual frequency. Every year, some part of it has suffered by one or other of these calamities,—the consequence of an unfavourable season. This year, an unusual scarcity is apprehended. Famine already rages in several countries of Hindustan, while epidemical distempers thin the inhabitants of others. These miseries are not a little aggravated by the wars in the Deccan and in the north of India. But war has nothing to do with the subject; and, if I did not fear to be thought visionary, I should say that a total change in the course of the seasons is at hand, and that the supposed motion of the poles of the earth might explain this, as well as most other changes we observe of our habitable globe; and, while *en train de rêver*, I might believe in Monsieur le Baile's Hyperborean nation, and make their descendants, the Hindus, migrate again, to carry their religion and sciences from India (become uninhabitable) to the temperate climates of New Holland and Terra Australia.

"But such flights would ill suit *un financier*. Instead of them, accept some political calculations on the district in which I reside, which I have had occasion to make, on account of the scarcity which is apprehended."

He proceeds to give a clear statistical account of the district of Purneah, the land in cultivation, produce, and population,—evidently the basis of an official report to the Government; the estimate of the population and the proportion of the sexes being derived from the actual numbering of a few villages, compared with the total of villages in the district.

reached that point; it is not without cause apprehended, that the country is already driven to its election of either feeding its actual and growing population chiefly upon inferior food—oats and potatoes, or to trust to importation for no small part of the wheat which it may consume."—*On Import of Colonial Corn*, pp. 48, 49.

What follows is of greater interest, and contrasts with the speculative astronomy with which the letter commences. The estimates of the population of Bengal and Behar under British rule had been, hitherto, very vague. A recent official inquiry, in 1789, quoted by him in the work on Bengal husbandry, gave twenty-two millions. It was grounded on the reports of the different Revenue Collectors. Sir William Jones had thrown out a hint, that the number must exceed twenty-four millions. Mr. Colebrooke leaned to the same opinion. The sales of salt, under the Government monopoly of that article, offered the ready means of forming a conjectural estimate. He had before him the application of this principle, by Necker, to France, while the Gabelle was in force. The subject is discussed at considerable length in this letter, in which he takes into consideration the uncertainties to which it is liable from the effect of smuggling and exportation, and some vagueness as to the limits of the population dependent on sea-salt (the subject of the monopoly). The conclusion at which he arrives, that the population of these provinces must be fully twenty-five millions, "must," he says, "seem much exaggerated. I am not, however, from what I see of the populousness of the country, disposed to retract it; and I shall, therefore, against I write again, endeavour to find better arguments to support my estimate."

The subject is not alluded to in any subsequent letter; but it was treated fully in a chapter of the work on husbandry, in which he brings a variety of data to support his conclusions,—derived from the consumption of salt,—that the estimates of the population of these provinces had been, hitherto, much underrated. His final conclusions agreed very nearly with this first calculation; but some of the data vary considerably. The point as to the actual consumption of a family, and on which his conclusions finally rest, was a novel one. "I estimate," he says, "the consumption of Bengal at no more than 8lbs. a head. To this might be opposed the authorities of Necker (who esti-

mates the population of France at 24,000,000, and states the consumption of salt at 3,450,000 quintals, or 372,600,000lbs., which is more than 15lbs. a head), and of Lord Dundonald, who estimates the average consumption in England at 25lbs.

"But the mode of living in India is much more simple than in Europe. No salt fish, no salt butter, no salted beef or pork is consumed by the inhabitants of Bengal. The mode of life of one is the mode of living of a milliou,—split pulse, boiled with salt, to give a relief to the insipidity of plain rice. The *rules of cookery* will give us, then, the consumption, viz.: for people in easy circumstances, two ounces of salt to two pounds of pulse, as the seasoning for a company of four or five; but peasants content themselves with less than half of that proportion. The first would be an average of near 12lbs. a head; but the peasants are the most numerous class; and I have, therefore, reduced the average to 8lbs. per head."[1]

But his inquiries at this stage, of which the foregoing is a specimen, seem to have been conducted with no further definite aim than the interest they excited. He told his son that the materials for this work were collected from motives of curiosity, and during his sporting excursions, which brought him into frequent intercourse with the peasantry. It would be, perhaps, more correct to say that his inquiries were carried on with the same earnest desire for knowledge with which he pursued studies in physical science or the antiquities of India; and his writings on the agriculture and commerce of Bengal, which were published some years later, partake of the same severe character. However important it may have been, at that time, to exhibit a body of information on the existing state of Bengal and its resources, in order to attract public attention to the value of these possessions, if governed in a more liberal policy, it may be doubtful if a treatise such as he originally contemplated would have attracted public attention. But, to the interest and curiosity with which he commenced his researches, gra-

[1] In his published views, he assumes an average of 10lbs.

dually were joined feelings of indignation at the treatment of these important possessions, as mere appendages of a commercial company. As the time drew near for the consideration of the renewal of the Company's privileges, we find his hopes excited by the discussions which arose; but, on hearing that the commercial monopoly was to be continued for a further term of twenty years, his indignation found a vent in his private letters, and, ultimately, in an attack upon the system. "I never thought of becoming an author," he once said, "until I got into a passion." His sons ventured to doubt the accuracy of this statement, so far as regards the origin of his literary ambition; and he at once admitted that it was of an earlier date than the publication of this treatise. In truth, four years before it appeared, he had engaged in studies with which his literary reputation is now inseparably connected; and it becomes necessary to interrupt the narrative of his labours on a question of great social interest, by referring to a point of even higher interest in the history of his life. It is to be regretted that, at this stage of my narrative, I am left without the guidance of his letters to his family. There is a gap in the file in my possession, extending from the date last quoted to the beginning of the year 1793, when, it will be found, he had acquired a knowledge of Sanscrit, and was engaged in studies which shared his attention with those already detailed. Though no note or letter is extant, describing the new turn given to his thoughts, it is not difficult to supply the defect, and assign the motives for this new undertaking.

The letters in which we have endeavoured to trace his life, show a gradually increasing interest in Eastern inquiries. We have seen how constantly his father urged him to devote more time to inquiries connected with Eastern literature, to which his son as constantly pleaded want of leisure. "I have, indeed, at times turned my thoughts that way;" he replies, on one occasion, "but so many difficulties occur, as, joined to a want of leisure, may prove insuperable." The greatest of these

difficulties was the want of sympathy to which I have already alluded. But, at the period of our narrative at which we have arrived, an impulse was given to these researches, which more than redeemed them from the defects of shallowness and bad taste, by which Mr. Colebrooke was repelled. I allude, of course, to the foundation of the Asiatic Society,[1] and the variety of essays which proceeded, with such profusion, from its accomplished founder. If they are wanting in the acumen and profundity with which these subjects have been subsequently treated, they were eminently fitted to attract the attention of the scholar and the man of science. The elegant taste and the imagination of Sir William Jones gilded the dryest subjects on which he discoursed, and encouraged the expectation that a mine of literary wealth was about to be opened in the sacred writings of the Brahmins. So extravagant were these expectations, that they roused, some years later, sentiments of distrust, which reacted against Oriental study. But, at the commencement of Sir William Jones's labours, the expectation of large and solid results was shared by men of the highest eminence in the republic of letters. The acknowledged antiquity of the civilization of the Hindus, their ancient literature, and the mystery which attached to the writings locked up in a dead language, excited the imagination of all who took an interest in the history of human progress. Many were impelled to the pursuit; and their labours were cordially welcomed by the learned in Europe. This is particularly observable in regard to mathematical and astronomical science. It is difficult to read, even now, the ingenious treatise of Mr. Playfair on the astronomy of the Brahmins, in which he adopts and expounds the views of M. Bailly, without being attracted, and almost carried away, by the evidence, apparently so carefully weighed, in support of the supposed profundity of their science cultivated at a remote age.

[1] The Society was founded in 1784: the first volume of its transactions appeared in 1788.

We have seen that Mr. Colebrooke, in the first instance, entertained similar over-sanguine views, founded, indeed, on a very superficial examination of Hindu science. But he aimed at pursuing the subject further; and the desire to acquire some knowledge of the ancient algebra of the Hindus first stimulated his endeavours to acquire a knowledge of Sanscrit. He mentioned this in casual conversation with his sons. When, however, he had made some progress in the language, his studies took a wider range; and we find him, in 1793, deeply interested in them. But, by this time, no less than three volumes of the Asiatic Researches had been given to the world; and Mr. Colebrooke's letters show how much he was interested in their contents.

Another fact, also mentioned in conversation, may be worth recording. The difficulties he experienced, in his first attempts to acquire the language, were so great, that he twice abandoned the study. Though his power of acquiring languages was great, it was rather that of a person of singularly vigorous intellect and most tenacious memory, accidentally turned in this direction, than of the exceptional character of the founder of the Asiatic Society. But it is, perhaps, needless to add that the acquisition of Sanscrit, at that time, was no ordinary achievement. When the very grammars and dictionaries are composed in the language on which the student is engaged, and he has to rely on the assistance of a Pundit to make his first approaches, the labour of acquisition must be of a very slow, and even plodding, character. Mr. Wilkins, in the preface to his Grammar, and Mr. Colebrooke, in one of his letters,[1]

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 89. Wilkins describes his studies as follows: "About the year 1778, my curiosity was excited, by the example of my friend Mr. Halhed, to commence the study of the Sanskrit. I was so fortunate as to find a *Pandit* of a liberal mind, sufficiently learned to assist me in the pursuit; but as at that time (and indeed not till very lately) there did not exist, in any language I understood, any elementary books, I was compelled to form such for myself, as I proceeded, till, with the assistance of my master, I was able to make extracts, and at length entire translations of grammars, wholly composed in the idiom I was studying. I put into English, sufficiently intelligible to myself, the greatest part of three very popular grammars."

have described their studies, which consisted in translating whole treatises and vocabularies, until they had formed grammars and dictionaries of their own.

How much we owe to these early students can be measured by those only who have travelled in the same path. The following are the terms in which the late Professor Wilson refers to his own experience: "The difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of a difficult language, such as Sanskrit, without any other appliances and means than grammars and lexicons in the language itself, and preceptors ignorant of English, and unfamiliar with our notions of elementary tuition, can be conceived by none but those who have been placed in similar circumstances. Fortunately, the author's experience of the difficulty was brief, for had not the grammar of Sir C. Wilkins come to his rescue, whilst guessing at the obscurities of the 'Mugdhabodha,' through the equally puzzling interpretation of a Pandit, he would probably have relinquished the task in despair. Such as it was, the experiment qualified him to do justice to the perseverance and industry by which his precursors in the path have enabled others to follow their route."[1]

But difficulties like these would never have deterred an acute and accomplished scholar, familiar with the grammatical structure of the cognate languages of Greece and Rome, were the rules of grammar treated by the native writers after a method suited to aid the progress of the student. The science of grammar, perfected, as it is, by the writings of European scholars, favours the first approach of all students; so that any one who has mastered its principles, as exemplified in one of the learned languages of Europe, finds the acquisition of other languages, taught on the same method, comparatively easy. The principles on which the grammatical teaching of India is based differ so widely from our own, that they offered obstacles to the study of Sanscrit, at this time, far more formidable than the construction of the language itself, or even

[1] Wilson's Collected Works, vol. v., p. 274.

the jealousy of the Brahmins. Mr. Colebrooke, in his essay on the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages, was the first to point out this distinction between the difficulties which are attributable to the language, and those which arise from "the exquisitely refined system by which the grammar is taught."[1] The latter source of difficulty was then very serious, and led superficial inquirers to attribute this refinement to the invention of the Brahmins. One of the pioneers in the study of Sanscrit, and the first to publish a grammar of the language, in his eagerness to exalt the greatness of the task he has taken in hand, breaks forth in astonishment at "The admirable craft of the devil which had led the Brahmin philosophers to form a language at once so rich and complicated, in order to conceal their religious dogmas and mysteries, not merely from the vulgar, but from men of instruction."[2] The learned missionary's expression of wonder is deserving of notice only in illustration of the awe with which the mysterious literature of the Brahmins was regarded by some of our early students. Much of the mystery was dispelled before Mr. Colebrooke engaged in the pursuit. Of our own countrymen, Halhed led the way; but Wilkins was the first to satisfy the world that a profound and critical knowledge of the language might be acquired by an European student. The Brahmins now showed a greater readiness to impart their knowledge. These considerations detract but little from the magnitude of Mr. Colebrooke's task. In his essay on the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages, which appeared in 1801, he gives a short review of

[1] Mis. Ess., vol. ii. p. 3.

[2] Paulinus a S. Bartholomeo. His first scanty grammar was published by the Propaganda Society in 1790. In his second grammar, which appeared in 1804, he takes pains to defend himself against some complaints that had been addressed to him for having departed so widely from European methods of instruction, and boldly pronounces that there was something in the genius of the Oriental languages that made them incapable of being treated according to our methods (Vyacarana, Preface, and p. 52). The quaint expression given above, will be found at p. 21, and is one out of many fanciful remarks scattered through the volume.

Indian grammarians, from Páṅini, "the father of Sanscrit Grammar," to more modern treatises; and it is deserving of attention, as part of the history of his life. He describes graphically the enigmatical character of the ancient oracles; but the works of their successors, or, at least, of many of them, are so overlaid by scholastic refinements and disquisitions, as to be scarcely less forbidding to those who, in Mr. Colebrooke's words, "could not waste the best years of their lives in the study of words;" and this portion of his essay may be regarded as an emphatic protest against the pedantry and obscurity which deforms this branch of Indian literature. I shall have occasion to revert to the subject, when I have to describe Mr. Colebrooke's own grammatical labours.

To return, from this digression, to Mr. Colebrooke's letters, which we now resume. At the beginning of 1793, when he had penetrated the hard grammatical crust in which the ancient language and literature are enveloped, we find his interest somewhat divided between these conflicting subjects of interest.

"*Purneah, 20th January,* 1793.

"The little leisure I have from business has been, of late, employed with more attention than I usually spare to the subject, on enquiries concerning husbandry. The information was wanted for particular purposes; but I have inserted it in a letter to Mr. Biddulph, whom I last year introduced to you. I am obliged to adopt this mode, or write a mere 'How d'ye do' letter; not having time to arrange what I would wish to forward on the subjects which have of late engaged me,—much less, to revert to what has been some months laid aside. I have for you some materials on the language and sciences of the Hindus, and some on the natural history of Bengal, but must postpone those matters for the present. I am engaged on a work which I intend for publication: it is on a controversy upon a question of revenue in Bengal; but I shall have occasion to enter fully into the whole system of the

revenue, as established by the native Government which preceded us, and as altered by the British administration. If I make sufficient progress to encourage perseverance, you will hear more from me in my next."

We hear no more of this work in his following letters; but the materials of this intended treatise form the basis of a chapter (written in no controversial spirit) in his work on Bengal husbandry.

"*October* 14, 1793.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"A new arrangement in the revenue line has removed me from Purneah to Nattore, where I arrived in the middle of August. The collections of the districts dependent on this station become my charge. The judicial authority, from which the collections are now separated, is held by our friend James Grant, who was lately Collector at Bhaugulpore. They would persuade us, that, in committing to us the most troublesome district of Bengal, a compliment is paid, for which we ought to be grateful. For my part, I would willingly have been spared the compliment, to be sent to an office of less responsibility and labour.

"This being one of the lowest countries of Bengal, I at present see it to great disadvantage. The whole country around is covered with a sheet of water; and we are insulated within the court-yard. Here and there a village peeps above the level, and sends its peasants to gather their rice in boats; for, in these low districts, rice sown before the rains rises with the inundation, and ripens in a very considerable depth of water. In some extensive tracts, a ship of the line might sail over the rice-fields.

"On your question relating to the cultivation of sugar in Bengal, I may, I believe, refer you to papers enclosed in a letter addressed to you last season. If England will receive our sugar, and encourage the planters, we could furnish it cheaper than the West India Islands, and supply more than

the consumption of all Europe; at least, we could now undersell the West India planters in their own islands, and, in a few years, could increase the culture to any given quantity. But Mr. Dundas's propositions for the renewal of the Company's charter are filled with clauses whose obvious tendency is to check all enterprise and industry in this country.

"I shall send you, by the ships of the season, the volumes, hitherto published, of the Asiatic Researches. You will find, in the third, a curious paper on Egypt, as known to the Hindus. They certainly have many traces of the early history of western countries. Their early authors recorded what came to their knowledge concerning celebrated persons; but they have not been careful to distinguish history from fable, or to connect historical facts with geography or chronology.

"I have met with some legends that seem to have reference to the Jews, under the appellation of *Cóládvidhwansi* (abstaining from pork). Their war with Raja Suratha is referred to a former *Manwantara;* and, according to the Hindu chronology, one hundred and twenty millions of years of the present *Manwantara* are expired. This may help to show that no historical lights can be expected from *Sanscrit* literature; but it may, nevertheless, be curious, if not useful, to publish such of their legends as seem to resemble others known to European mythology. I shall send you some I have met with. . . . .

"H. T. COLEBROOKE."

Rajshahi, December 6, 1793.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"When I wrote last, I had seen only vague accounts of the terms on which the charter was renewed. We here supposed that the former restrictions were, in a great measure, obsolete, and only continued *pro formâ*, and that the real intention was to encourage a more liberal system of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and India, or at least to foster the new produce and commerce which had been opened.

"I hardly restrain myself from commenting at large on the

system exhibited in the new act of parliament, and explained by the previous negotiations and debates. I conceive it contrary to justice and sound policy. It disappoints the sanguine expectations I had formed, of seeing this country revive under encouragements of its industry. It disappoints me of the satisfaction I hoped to receive, from the reflection of having contributed my humble mite to the general good, in pointing out, or, rather, in suggesting, hints for showing by what system of intercourse both nations might be equally benefited. The melancholy scene of increasing poverty in Bengal will not be shifted. But I am entering on the subject from which I had determined to refrain. It may be improper to argue against what has been resolved, though it was open to all to combat this system before it was avowed. I shall, perhaps, continue to speculate on these subjects; but what I write will hardly pass beyond my closet, or reach your perusal, until I have the happiness of seeing you in Europe.

"I have lately employed my pen on other subjects. I believe I mentioned them in a former letter, and referred you to particular parts of a work, to be published by Mr. Deves, in which you will find some lines of my sketching.

"In my Sanscrit studies, I do not confine myself, now, to particular subjects, but skim the surface of all their sciences. I will subjoin, for your amusement, some remarks on subjects treated in 'The Researches."

"I sent you, by the 'Charlotte' packet, the three volumes which have been published of the 'Asiatic Researches.' If you have not already seen them, you will be much gratified by the perusal. Should you desire further information on any particular points, send me your queries, and I will immediately undertake the enquiry, and furnish you with as ample a dissertation as I can prepare."

He then reviews, at some length, Sir William Jones's papers in these volumes, on the literature of the Hindus and on their chronology. He concludes with the remark, that his observa-

tions are so hastily thrown together, thut he must beg his father to reserve them for his private perusal; and it is certain they do not treat on these subjects with the fullness or accuracy of his later and mature studies. They have an interest, however, as showing the direction of his inquiries. The Vedas, their nature, contents, and their mythological history, occupy the first place in his attention; and he enters into considerable detail on points which he thinks are not sufficiently explicit in Sir William Jones's paper. He is equally full on the subject of the genealogy of different branches of the great family of Brahmins, and the countries from which they were originally derived, or with which they were afterwards connected; he treats, at some length, on the Puranic account of the ancient seats of the different families, and their modern synonyms. But, on the subject of their chronology, he considers it a waste of time to attempt, as had been done by some writers, to reconcile their astronomical periods with any natural or historical chronology, Their *yugas* were, evidently, astronomical periods, but how formed, he thinks will never be discovered,[1] and scarcely deserving any elaborate research. What Mr. Davis said on the subject, in his astro-

[1] His views on this question are given at the conclusion of the Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus, where he advances the opinion, that the larger periods were deduced, originally, from the cycle of sixty years, common to them and the Chaldeans, which, he supposes, was afterwards combined with other periods of heavenly bodies, more correctly determined. Following out a similar conjecture, M. Biot has shown that the period of 1,080,000 years, being one-fourth of a Mahâ-yuga, yields the smallest number of sidereal years which contains a complete number of mean solar days without leaving a remainder; so that the Mahâ-yuga is formed by simple multiplication, and represents a complete number of solar days, at the end of which period the beginning of the year would coincide with the same moment of the day.—*Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne*, p. 37.

Another view of this question is given by Wilson, in a note to the *Vishńu Puráńa* (p. 24). In this work, as in other Hindu writings, the Mahâ-yuga is divided, in an artificial manner, into four periods, representing successive ages; and these calculations are supposed, by Wilson, to denote the manner in which a cycle is formed. M. Biot's conjecture seems, however, to offer the more probable explanation. Indeed, it is difficult to suppose that the relation he has discovered between the period of 1,080,000 years and the length of the sidereal year can have been accidental.

nomical papers, contained, in his view, all that need be known. From this he reverts to matters of religious observances, and describes himself as much interested in "the modes by which holy persons arrives at sanctity, both in relation to *Mucti*, the ultimate absorption in the Divinity, and to *Tattwa Gyána*, the return of the soul into the divine essence," on which subjects he promises to enter fully in a future letter. His concluding observations are striking, and convey the general impression which these researches had left on his mind :—

"Upon the whole, whatever may be the true antiquity of this nation, whether their mythology be a corruption of the pure deism we find in their books, or their deism a refinement from gross idolatry ; whether their religious and moral precepts have been engrafted on the elegant philosophy of the Nyáya and Mímánsá, or this philosophy been refined on the plainer text of the Veda ; the Hindu is the most ancient nation of which we have valuable remains, and has been surpassed by none in refinement and civilization ; though the utmost pitch of refinement to which it ever arrived preceded, in time, the dawn of civilization in any other nation of which we have even the name in history.

"The further our literary enquiries are extended here, the more vast and stupendous is the scene which opens to us ; at the same time that the true and false, the sublime and the puerile, wisdom and absurdity, are so intermixed, that, at every step, we have to smile at folly, while we admire and acknowledge the philosophical truth, though couched in obscure allegory or puerile fable.

"I have only to wish for more leisure for diligent study in their literature : you might, then, expect more ample communications from me, and in a perspicuous arrangement."

"*Rajshahi, April* 18, 1794.

"My Dear Father,

"I had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from you, dated

in September last. To make an attack upon the Company's charter must, certainly, offend; and, if a liberal policy could be expected from an exclusive Company, I should think the attack best avoided. But the opinion declared by the Court of Directors, that no private trade should be permitted to interfere with their *Aurungs*, and their ungenerous conduct towards certain memorialists who recommended encouragement to private traders, has betrayed an unconciliating temper, which never will acquiesce in any modification of their exclusive privileges.

"If it be admitted that Great Britain should draw a tribute from Bengal, and that it can only be drawn through the medium of commerce, conducted by a privileged Company, it is plausibly argued, that, to maintain their commerce, competition must be excluded. While it is assumed that the present fabric must be touched with caution and reverence, until the result of gradual experiment shows another system preferable and practicable, the privileges maintained must defeat the proposed experiments, and the present system must be perpetuated, in order to hold Bengal as a loose appendage on commerce, instead of connecting it to Great Britain, as a portion of the empire. The caution which shrinks from discussing the policy of maintaining a privileged Company gives a great advantage to those who argue for a narrow system, professing to appeal to particular experience against general experience, which they are pleased to term theory. For, by this caution they are permitted to proceed upon data which might be oppugned.

"If I were to presume so far as to enter on the discussion of any part of this subject, I would boldly enter on the whole. I think it might be shown, that the Company lose by their Indian commerce, and that, notwithstanding the tribute they draw, they lose by the connexion of the revenue with the commerce. If this can be shown, it follows that experience is against the expediency of the present system. Its justice might be next

questioned. Having established the argument on justice and expediency, it might be allowable to speculate on the mutual benefit to Great Britain and Bengal, which would result from affiliating Bengal, and cherishing this country, instead of oppressing her. The policy of free nations, in regard to foreign possessions, has ever been selfish. A sovereign prince may, also, be influenced by personal motives; but they do not necessarily lead him to partiality towards one class of his subjects, or towards one portion of his empire. A ruling nation consults its own interest solely. Every consideration for the most important interests of subjected nations vanishes in the comparison with its own immediate interests. A society of individuals look to their own profit, without any consideration for the general good, either of the nation to which they belong, or of the country which is yielded to their rule. The advocates for Bengal must show to Great Britain advantage to herself, in the adoption of a more liberal policy; they must show to the Company disadvantage, in retaining their exclusive privileges in British India.

"This might be done. It admits, I think, of demonstration, that the India Company would be bettered by relinquishing the revenue and commerce of the Peninsula, and by restricting themselves to the China monopoly; and that Great Britain would be benefited by a free commerce with British India.

"But the discussion of the subject would involve with these arguments others, in their nature offensive to the Directors or to the administration. Even those arguments might be resented by a company jealous of their privileges. I do not think that an attack on those privileges should be avoided, lest resentment should refuse what may be expected from a spirit of conciliation (some temperament to the severity of rigid exclusion), nor that it should be deemed unseasonable; for, unless a system which annexed India to the British empire be seriously contemplated for future adoption, the Company's privileges will be suffered to counteract the trials which should

be made, in order that the want of experience may not be argued on a future occasion. But I know it to be personally dangerous to discuss these topics; nor have I the presumption to think myself qualified to convince the public judgment. In the confidence of private communication, these speculations may be hazarded: further must not be ventured. I bow to your opinion, and must be careful that the words of the orator become not applicable to me, 'Patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit.'[1]

"Since I last wrote, I communicated to the Asiatic Society a short paper on the ceremonies observed by Hindu women burning themselves with the corpse of their deceased husbands. I believe it will be printed in the next volume; for I have received from Sir William Jones a polite and flattering acknowledgment of it. I am now fairly entered among Oriental researches, and may, probably, unless I be early removed to an office of more labour, pursue Sanscrit enquiries diligently, and load the press with the result of my lucubrations.

"You need not apprehend that I should neglect business, or be thought to do so. My name for diligence in business is so far established, that a literary name will add to, rather than detract from, official character. The expense of these enquiries, though not inconsiderable, is not so great as materially to retard the ultimate object of independence. The only caution which occurs to me is, not to hazard in publication anything crude or imperfect, which would injure my reputation as a man of letters. To avoid this, the precaution may be taken of submitting my manuscripts to private perusal.

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. COLEBROOKE."

The paper "On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow," the first of his contributions to the Asiatic Researches, was read before the Society in April, 1794, during the last session

[1] Cicero, *Orator*, 63.

of Sir William Jones's occupation of the chair. In it are brought together a very numerous collection of texts from Hindu works, which allude to the burning of widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, or prescribe the ceremonies to be observed on these horrible occasions. There is a consciousness of strength in the introductory paragraph, in which he refers to some careless compilations on Eastern subjects, which had lately appeared in Europe, and urges the importance of reverting, on such subjects, to original authorities,—a practice which he thought had been too much neglected; but, in speaking of this essay, afterwards, to his sons, he modestly described it as a "task" undertaken during his early study of the language. From this it may be inferred that he did not attach any great value to it as a critical attempt to determine the precise authority that was due to the different authors quoted. At that time he certainly had not access to any large collection of manuscripts, such as he afterwards possessed; and he was, probably, indebted to treatises on ceremonial law, or to the assistance of natives to collect the different passages cited. Such, at least, was the inference which might be drawn from his remark; and it seems important to state his own opinion of this early treatise, because the accuracy of one of the texts quoted, that from the Rĭg Veda, is questioned by Professor Wilson, in a paper published in the sixteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Hymn, which is there given in full, contains a verse so nearly resembling that quoted by Mr. Colebrooke, as to support the opinion of Professor Wilson, that the passage in question was "either purposely or accidentally wrongly read" by the Sanscrit author from whom Mr. Colebrooke took it. As one of these versions enjoins sutteeism in direct words, and the other points in the opposite direction, we are left to infer that the misquotation must have been intentional, and a pious fraud on the part of the writer who gives it.[1]

[1] The passage quoted by Professor Wilson runs thus:—"May these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers, enter with

Whether the ancient Hindu writings favour the practice of sutteeism, or whether it is not, on the other hand, a more modern superstition, is a point of interest in the history of the Hindu religion, and was of some importance when the British government suppressed the custom. The soundness of Professor Wilson's conjecture was challenged by Rájá Rádhácánta Deva, an Indian scholar of reputation, whose letter on the subject appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1859. But the question remains very much at the point where Professor Wilson left it. The only part of the controversy in which we have any present concern, regards the history of this Essay. The Rájá assumes that the materials were derived from a modern treatise on ceremonial law;[1] and it would be quite consistent with Mr. Colebrooke's statement that it was written while he was still a student of the language, that he should have derived assistance from such a work. But his statement in the Essay, as to the "pains taken in collecting the different texts," shows that they were not derived from one treatise only, but that his Essay was a work of research.

To revert to another subject alluded to in the preceding letter, we have seen that, strongly as he felt on the subject of the monopoly of the East India trade, he knew that from a covenanted servant of a commercial company principles of unlimited obedience were expected, which would make it "personally dangerous" to attack their privileges. The power over their

unguents and clarified butter: without tears, without sorrow, let them first go up to the dwelling."

· The version in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay is as follows:—"Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, well adorned with gems, let them pass into fire, whose original element is water."

[1] The Rájá says, from a treatise called *S'uddhitattwa*, by Raghunandana, a writer of the sixteenth century. This is a mistake. Dr. F. Hall, at my request, took the pains to compare the texts in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay with those of a copy of the *S'uddhitattwa* in the Library of the India Office: and there are several in the Essay which do not appear in the *S'uddhitattwa;* and the discrepancies in those which appear in both show that Raghunandana's work was not implicitly followed.

servants, though nominally checked by the control of the Crown, was, at this time, practically despotic. For a civil servant to engage in an open attack on the policy of his masters, was considered something like a betrayal of confidence, even at a later day. "I considered," he said to his sons, "that I was bound to think and act as a servant of the British Government, and not merely as in the service of a commercial company."

These generous sentiments were checked by motives of prudence, referred to in the preceding letter. But his better feelings fortunately received the support of a kindred spirit, equally alive to the injury which the monopoly inflicted on India, and unaffected by the fear of offending the ruling power. Mr. Anthony Lambert, a member of a considerable commercial house in Calcutta, imbued with the liberal principles of commercial policy which had begun to make their way at home, and having the advantage of a ready pen, urged Mr. Colebrooke to join with him in the attempt to rouse public attention to the great questions at stake. The volume which was their joint production was entitled "Remarks on the Present State of the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal," and consisted of a moderate quarto. But the title imperfectly describes its contents. It was no longer the didactic treatise Mr. Colebrooke originally proposed to himself; but it boldly entered upon the whole field of controversy which was raised by the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, and embraced other topics, in which the West India and other interests were considered to militate against those of the East. In it may be found treated many subjects which changes of policy and government have now rendered obsolete, but which were keenly controverted in their day: the policy of allowing European settlers in India; the alleged stationary state of the native population of India; the effect of the institution of castes, as a bar to social improvement; the landed settlement of Bengal; the danger of throwing the whole trade of India with Europe into illicit, and, probably, foreign hands, by entrusting such a trade to the

management of a political body. But that which advanced the work from the character of a political pamphlet was the comprehensive survey which it took of the undeveloped resources of Bengal, and the statesmanlike spirit with which these questions were treated. In the division of labour, the husbandry and internal commerce of Bengal fell to Mr. Colebrooke's share, while the foreign commerce was treated by Mr. Lambert. Mr. Colebrooke assisted his colleague in revising the latter work; and, judging from the evidence of style, I am led to suppose that a considerable part of the last chapter was written by him. Mr. Lambert was a spirited but careless writer; and his portion is easily distinguished from that of his colleague. It was not without hesitation that they decided on printing and circulating the work; and it was previously submitted to the perusal of Sir John Shore and other members of the supreme Government. The encouragement received from these high authorities, and especially that from Sir John Shore, joined to the urgent pressure of other friends who were consulted, decided them to print. A limited number of copies were struck off, some of which were sent to England, where it attracted immediate attention. Mr. Lambert, who was eager for publication, sent some copies to a common friend of his own and Mr. Colebrooke's family, with instructions to put it in the press. Mr. Alderman Prinsep,[1] who was entrusted with this task, was startled to find that the work, which, from its title, promised to be only a dry essay, struck off for a confined circulation, contained "high matter, materially concerning the influence, and even existence, of British power in India," and vigorously assailed the recent decision of the Government and Parliament upon the Indian monopoly. As the work supported the views which the Alderman had advocated in the House of Commons, he eagerly seconded the wishes of his friend Lambert, and

[1] The father of the family which rose to distinction in India in the next generation. The Alderman was in Parliament, and took a part in the discussions on the renewal of the Company's privileges.

hesitated only under the consideration that it would be unjust to commit Mr. Colebrooke,—whose responsibility was so much greater than his own,—without sounding the opinions of those in high place. With the concurrence of Sir George Colebrooke, to whom Mr. Prinsep referred this delicate question, copies of the work were laid before the Prime Minister and Mr. Dundas. The Alderman's letters, which are extant, reported, successively, the fact of the volume being laid before the great men, the attention with which Mr. Dundas perused it, and, at length, the fatal frown which crushed, for a time, the hope of publication. It is curious to note that the Alderman, in his zeal for propagandism, attached no weight whatever to the opinions of the East India Directors. "We have nothing to fear from them," he says, "unless it be agitated by higher powers, or moved by the resentment of an individual among them. A great majority will never read the book; and a majority of those who might do so, if it fell in their way, I am persuaded, would not understand it."

The Alderman does slender justice to the powers even of the dullest, of apprehending what affects their own interest. It will be seen, from Mr. Colebrooke's letters, that the hostility of the Directors, or, at least of a formidable section of their number, was what he considered he had most to dread, from the open avowal of his free-trade opinions, and that the offence he had given by his advocacy of them materially influenced their decision, when he might have aspired to a seat in the Indian Council. This is, to some extent, matter of speculation. It is certain that, when Mr. Colebrooke, anxious to learn how his work had been received, made inquiries of a gentleman in high position in the service, he received the rebuff: "You may think yourself fortunate, if you are allowed to remain in the service." This incident he related to his sons.

The subsequent history of this work will appear in Mr. Colebrooke's correspondence. I cannot refrain from giving a place to the following remarks, from the pen of Mr.

John Crawfurd, formerly Governor of Singapore. No one is better qualified to appreciate the services of those who took a lead in this cause, both from his extensive knowledge of every question which bears on the commerce of the East, and from the part he took in breaking down the trading monopoly of the East India Company. In reply to some inquiries relative to this work, he says:—

"It was an honour to be acquainted with such a man; for I hold him to be the greatest of all our orientalists,—a riper Sanscrit scholar than Sir William Jones, the equal of my friend Horace Wilson. But he was, besides this, what neither of these were, an enlightened political philosopher and political economist, a man of enlightened and comprehensive views. This book, which I have already named, was printed in Calcutta, but distributed only; for, in the bad times in which he wrote, and in the position which he held in the public service, publication would have cost him his position, and, perhaps, even banishment from India. He lent me the original work,—which I have no doubt you keep as a record in your family,—and I read it carefully. His account of the agriculture of Bengal is, in my opinion, and after the long interval of fifty-six years, the very best work on the subject. The commercial portion of it is, of course, obsolete; but he anticipated what would be the results of a free trade, and named most of the articles which have since become staples of Indian trade. He continued a consistent free-trader to the last hour of his life. Not long before his death, I consulted him, when about to be examined by a Committee of the House, and, in the course of my evidence, quoted his name and authority, to the no small annoyance of certain East India Directors, members of the Committee."

CHAPTER III.—1794-1798.

DIGEST OF HINDU LAW—CORRESPONDENCE—ESSAYS ON THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE HINDUS—ON INDIAN CLASSES AND ON INDIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—ASTROLOGY.

REVERTING to the account of the Oriental studies in which Mr. Colebrooke was now fairly launched, I have to record a new and important direction they were about to take, owing to the sudden termination of the brilliant career of the founder of the Asiatic Society, which left to him the succession of the legal as of the literary labours on which Sir William Jones was engaged. The complimentary terms in which Sir William welcomed his first attempt in the field of Indian antiquities must have been very gratifying; for he referred to them, in after life, as "a very pretty letter," which had stimulated his exertions. The letter was, unfortunately, not preserved. The correspondence, of which it was the opening, was suddenly terminated. Mr. Colebrooke, in a letter to his father, written in June, 1794, thus alludes to this melancholy event:—

"Since I wrote to you, the world has sustained an irreparable loss, in the death of Sir William Jones. As a judge, as a constitutional lawyer, and for his amiable qualities in private life, he must have been lost with heartfelt regret. But his loss as a literary character will be felt in a wider circle. It was his intention shortly to have returned to Europe, where the most valuable works might have been expected from his pen. His premature death leaves the result of his researches unarranged, and must lose to the world much that was only committed to memory, and much of which the notes must be unintelligible to those into whose hands his papers fall. It must be long before he is replaced in

the same career of literature, if he ever is so. None of those who are now engaged in Oriental researches are so fully informed in the classical languages of the East; and I fear that, in the progress of their enquiries, none will be found to have such comprehensive views."

The death of Sir William Jones gave rise to an important undertaking on Mr. Colebrooke's part, which had a considerable influence on his future labours. Instead of skimming the surface of the ancient literature of the Hindus, he was confined to a special work on their laws, involving intense application; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that it is to the severe study which this and other legal works entailed upon him, that we owe the singular command he acquired over the structure of the Sanscrit language.

This direction of his studies to jurisprudence received an additional impulse by his transfer to the judicial branch of the Indian service. As his connection with the revenue administration gave rise to his first literary effort, so we now find him devoted to legal researches with at least equal professional enthusiasm. The narrative of his labours will be given in his own letters; but one or two remarks may not be out of place, to describe, more particularly, the nature of the work which he undertook to translate.

The principle of reserving to the nations of India the administration of their own laws and usages had been recognized in the earliest institution of courts in the factories or towns occupied by the East India Company's establishments; but it had received a more emphatic recognition in the statute of 1772, regulating the affairs of the Company, and in those which established the Supreme Court at Calcutta. At the instance of Warren Hastings, a clause was introduced into the act of 1772, confirming these rights to the natives, and providing that "Maulavies and Pundits should attend the Courts, to expound the law and assist in passing the decrees." The civil rights which we undertook to uphold were not

confined to suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and religious usages and institutions, but they included any civil contracts which might become the subject of legal dispute.[1] To prevent these benevolent intentions of the Government from becoming a dead letter, it became necessary to render the ancient laws of the Hindus accessible to their European judges. The same statesman who asserted the principle of governing the natives by their own laws had already proposed the means of carrying it into effect, by compiling a body of laws from their own books. The work, which appeared in 1776, and was drawn up by a commission of nine Brahmins, under Warren Hastings' direction, was entitled a "Code of Gentoo Laws," and aimed at compressing within the compass of a single volume, a complete body of law, civil and criminal, as well as a code of procedure. Those chapters which are of chief importance, and regard the civil rights of inheritance and contracts, are slightly executed, and do not even quote or refer to the authorities from which the rules profess to be derived. This defect, indeed, characterizes the greater part of the work, which, though of literary interest as the first formal treatise which was presented to European eyes, on the subject of Indian jurisprudence, could not be relied upon as representing the existing laws and usages of the nation, and, indeed, was soon discovered to abound with inaccuracies. From the difficulty, at that time, of finding any person capable of translating direct from the Sanscrit, it

[1] The statute of 1781, which regulated the procedure of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, provided that, "all disputes between the native inhabitants of Calcutta, their inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, shall be determined, in the case of the Mohammedans, by the laws and usages of Mohammedans, and, in the case of Gentoos, by the laws and usages of Gentoos." The object of the statute was to restrain as well as regulate the procedure of the Court. In the preamble, after referring to the dissensions between the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, by which "the minds of many inhabitants of the said Government have been disquieted with fears and apprehensions," it proceeds to lay down the principle, that "the inhabitants should be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of all their ancient laws, usages, rights, and privileges."

had to undergo a double process of translation; first, into Persian, the official language of India, and then into English. Some of its imperfections will be found pointedly described in one of Mr. Colebrooke's letters.

To supply the defects of this work, which, from the first, was regarded as of no authority, Sir William Jones proposed to the Government a more elaborate compilation. The plan is set forth in a letter to Lord Cornwallis, which will be found in Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William,[1] and of which an extract is given in Mr. Colebrooke's preface to the work which was afterwards completed. He proposed a digest of both Hindu and Muhammedan laws, after the model of Justinian's Pandects, to consist of texts collected from law books of approved authority, and to be digested according to a scientific analysis, with references to the original authors, and the works from which the extracts were made. The letter, which was written in 1788, sets forth, in some detail, the sources of the laws, both of the Hindus and Muhammedans, and contains an offer to superintend the compilation and execute the translation.

The offer was readily embraced by the Government; and Sir William entered on his task with ardour. It would appear, however, that he did no more than lay down the plan of the work, which was to be confined to the two titles of Inheritance and Contract, and exercise a general control over the authorities to be cited. Nor could the pressure of his judicial duties and literary labours have allowed him to do more. The task of arranging and discriminating between the authors and text books fell chiefly on a learned pundit, Jagannátha, who gave it the affected title of "The Sea of the Solutions of Legal Disputes." This was the work Mr. Colebrooke engaged to translate. Its defects are pointed out in the preface. The arrangement is said to be unsatisfactory, and the commentary abounds with frivolous disquisitions,

[1] Page 306.

without sufficiently discriminating between the discordant opinions of different schools of law. But, though the work has not proved equal to the promise of its ambitious title, its compilation constituted an epoch in the history of Indian administration; as, from this time, Indian judges ceased to be dependent on their pundits, and the work remains, in the view of Sir Thomas Strange, late Chief Justice of Madras, "a mine of juridical learning, throwing light on every question on which it treats, whatever attention it may require in extracting it."

The first allusion to this undertaking is contained in a letter, written in October, 1794; and the reader cannot fail to be struck with the tone of independence which refused to exchange the position he occupied in the service for that of a literary drudge:—

"The laborious undertaking to which I allude is a translation, from the original Sanscrit, of a copious digest of Hindu law, which was compiled under the direction of Sir W. Jones. Unfortunately for the public, he did not live to finish it. Knowing that few possess the language, and thence judging that it might be difficult to find a person to complete the work, I offered my services. But some difficulties were at first made, which I misconstrued, and therefore retracted my offer. I supposed that, where terms were insisted on to which I could not agree, there could be no difficulty in finding another person willing and able to make the translation; and my only motive for undertaking it consequently ceased; for I had explained my motive to be, that the work might not be lost, and had refused all emolument from it.

"However, on a late visit to Calcutta, I found that I had misunderstood the intentions of our great men, and that, unless I made the translation, it could not be immediately done; for one had refused it, and the studies of others in the language were yet young. But still it was insisted with me, that I should reside in Calcutta during the work, give

up my present station, and accept of a salary for the translation. To this I could not accede; but, to remove the petty difficulties which were made, I offered to carry it on at my leisure, either to its completion, or until some person were found willing to dedicate his *whole time* to it. This was accepted, and I have been, for this month past, busied in the translation. It will be a voluminous work; nevertheless, I expect to finish it in six months.

"The additional expense to which I am put for pundits and amanuenses will not be considerable, as far as I can at present judge. Unless it exceed two thousand rupees, I shall choose to bear the expense myself; otherwise, I shall obtain reimbursement, when the translation is finished.

"Could any reliance be placed on the accuracy of common report, I should expect to have the pleasure of announcing to you, before I close this, that I am nominated to a post which I should prefer to any in the service, on account of the facility it would afford for Sanscrit studies. My friends in Calcutta, who are more sanguine than I am, insist that it is certain.

"Most I converse with hold the same opinion you express, of Bengal being, at present, a better country to reside in than England. Though our form of Government is despotic, we have, I think, more real liberty than you have in Great Britain. No Calcutta jury would send a man to Botany Bay, for speaking what is demonstratively true. I shall not think that Great Britain is a place for a son of liberty to live in, until Scotland wipe off the stain the whole country receives by the sentences of Messrs. Gerrard, Palmer, etc., nor until a reform renders England truly, what she is now nominally, a free country. I mean not a reform on French principles. For the French revolutionists, we might parody a line of Shakespeare,—

"Some are born to freedom, some achieve freedom, and some have freedom thrust upon them."

"If ever a motive of health makes me leave Bengal (for I never can have a fortune to tempt me home), I shall probably settle in America, and thence pay you an annual visit. I have bought a few acres there, and, whenever I can save as much as will make me up 30,000 rupees here, I mean to send all further savings, to be invested in land there, or in the American funds. However, the day is yet so distant, that I shall have plenty of time to reconsider this intention, before there is occasion to follow it in practice."

It may be mentioned, in passing, that the purchase of land in America, adverted to in the preceding letter, was followed up, some years later, by an investment in American funds. To this he was determined by gloomy apprehension as to the future of England, at one period of the war. He wished, he said, to have "a nest-egg" there, in case the storm which devastated the continent should spread over England. His father encouraged these alarmist views; but the character of his mind was naturally the reverse of sanguine. The "nest egg" was afterwards withdrawn in consequence of some acts of the Government, or of Congress, which led him to doubt their good faith.

The hopes expressed in his last letter, of being appointed to a station favourable for Sanscrit studies, were soon to be fulfilled. His appointment to a station so eminently suited to facilitate these researches as that of Mirzapore, was, indeed, equal, in importance, to his transfer to the judicial branch of the service. Mizapore is in close proximity to Benares, still the seat and centre of Brahminical learning in the north of India. Here, too, he was enabled to collect the principal part of that large collection of manuscripts which was afterwards presented to the East India Company.

"*Rajshahi, August* 11, 1795.

"My Dear Father,

"It will afford you pleasure to learn that I have been appointed to an eligible post, the Adawlut at Mirzapore.

From its neighbourhood to Benares, I shall have the convenience for which I wished to be placed at that city,—ready access to the Hindu College. On one account I may prefer it, as a retired situation; and I understand it is both wholesome and pleasant. From all these circumstances it is a very satisfactory position to me, and, on the score of salary, I have no reason to be dissatisfied. If a little may content me—as it ought,—half a dozen years, barring accidents, may now give a small independence.

"My pursuits in Sanscrit, in which I am confident you equally interest yourself for my success, proceed well. The great work I undertook a year ago is well advanced; it will employ the leisure of another year, which exceeds my estimate; but my first intention had been to omit or abridge the commentaries of the lawyers. I afterwards determined on carrying the verbal translation through the whole, both text and gloss; and I shall take advice on the translation, whether to abridge the subject while revising it. Either way, it will be no slight performance, but fill a ponderous folio or two.

"On a very different subject, I have printed a private edition of a moderate quarto:[1] the subject is the same which I once wrote you I should avoid. But I could not refrain from committing my thoughts to paper, and was persuaded to make a private edition of the work. It has been shown to friends on whose judgment I rely, and who would advise me against anything which might be dangerous by giving offence. I believe I shall allow myself to be persuaded to publish an edition in England. I shall probably send you a private copy, or possibly I may leave you for a while to recognize my handy work, in your reading on such subjects. My name will be, of course, withheld from publication.

"I enclose a list of books and instruments which I should be happy to receive with those requested in my last. I have thoughts of employing my leisure on chemical experiments,

[1] The Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal.

while correcting the work, now in hand, for the press. Were another work undertaken, it might render me too careless in this irksome task of supervising the press.

"The following short enumeration of the opinions of the different Hindu sects, on the nature of the Deity, fell in my way very lately; to explain them might form a good metaphysical essay:

"He, whoever he be, whom men adore for human purposes (for prosperity, life, final beatitude, etc.), is, according to the *Aupanishadas* (who ground their opinions on the hymns extracted from the Veda), 'he whose nature is pure and silent.'

"According to the *Cápilas* (followers of Capila, the founder of a sect in philosophy), 'the first, wise, and perfect being.'

"According to the *Pátanjalas* (named from the founder of the sect), 'the benevolent revealer of all things.'

"According to the *Páśupatas* (a religious sect), 'he who is in contradistinction to the world and the Vedas, unstained, and independent.'

"According to the *Śaivas* (or peculiar worshippers of Śiva), 'Śiva, the destroyer.'

"According to the *Vaishńavas* (or peculiar worshippers of Vishńu, the preserver), 'the great male.'

"According to the *Pauráńicas* (who ground their opinions on mythological story), 'the common ancestor.'

"According to the *Yájnyicas* (who attribute all merit to sacrifice), 'the male, or object of adoration and sacrifice.'

"According to the *Saugatas* (followers of Jina and Buddha), 'the omniscient.'

"According to the *Digambaras* (a sect of naked devotees), 'the unclothed being.'

"According to the *Mímánsacas* (named from the name of this sect of philosophers or logicians), 'he for whom religious rites are ordained,' that is, the object of adoration and religious observances.

"According to the *Chárvácas*, 'he who is acknowledged by the universal consent of mankind.'

"According to the *Naiyáyicas* (logicians), 'the universal agent, or active being.'

"Not to mention many other opinions, the tribes of Artisans hold him to be the deity whom they worship by the name of Viśwacarman; that is, they do not define the value of the divinity.

"This extract must suffice for the present.

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. COLEBROOKE."

He writes again in October of the same year. The first part of the letter is taken up with matters of business connected with his brother-in-law's affairs. He proceeds:—

"I am much and most sensibly obliged by the exertions you made with a view of obtaining recommendations in my favour. It does not diminish my gratitude, that they have been attended with circumstances painful to me. I lament that Edward ever mentioned the compliment Lord Cornwallis chanced to pay me. It was a mere unmeaning phrase, and never understood by me as conveying any promise. Had I been disposed to jump at any assurances made by him, he had spontaneously made me stronger assurances at other times, but which I virtually declined. My friend Biddulph's expression is energetic, but, like most forcible expressions, conveys too much. What share I had in the labour I took while serving under a friend, whom I valued as a brother, cannot well be deemed drudgery. That friend is no more. My own plan for pushing myself into promotion was long since formed, and steadily pursued. It completely succeeded, and for almost a twelvemonth I have had a near certainty of obtaining a place in the projected arrangements for the province of Benares. I mentioned it in all my late letters, with no more reserve of doubt than was necessary for the case of the possible contingency of some disappointment. I had set my heart on a Benares station, and should

have been much mortified by premature advancement as I should now be, by further advancement, to remove me from this province. Like a friend of mine, who obstinately refused promotion strenuously pressed on him, I might say, in his words, 'I have only one favour to ask of Government, which is, that I may be the last judge in Bengal promoted.' However, this would prove less disinterested on my part than it did on his; for my salary is as great as my expenses, and less than what it would be in the next step in the ladder of promotion.

"I have already hinted that I am much pleased with this situation. It is in a very beautiful country, and possesses an advantage not frequent in these provinces, nearness to a hilly country. Another circumstance which renders this place a pleasant residence is, the thriving state of the town and neighbourhood. Mirzapore has, within few years, become one of the principal marts for land trade, and its commerce is daily increasing. From its further increase I may derive honour, as well as the simple pleasure of witnessing it; for its prosperity would be partly attributed to my exertions in the care of the police, etc.

"To join great with small, would that peace were restored, and England as thriving as this town! The last accounts which have reached us exhibit very different prospects; an obstinate perseverance in a disastrous war, and dangerous discontents in Ireland. But it is of no avail to employ my thoughts on public ills; it shall be enough for me, if my near friends are well and happy.

"Your very dutiful son,

"H. Colebrooke."

In February of the following year, 1796, he writes to his father, from Benares. After some allusions to the prospects of Mr. Traill, his brother-in-law, whom he had invited to India, and assisted in engaging in business, in Bengal, as a planter, he continues, "He will, probably, fix

himself in this province, which I am not likely to quit before I leave India altogether; for, being satisfied with my situation, I shall not desire a change, and I have not higher promotion to look for."

After some explanations, on account of the irregularity of his correspondence, he proceeds:—

"To those who have believed accounts formerly published, of the indolent lives led by the British in India, my hint of urgent business would need to be supported; but I might affirm, on the contrary, that public servants are more constantly employed in official duties than elsewhere. Even Sunday is no holiday to us. You will easily admit it, when I add, that, in the judicial department, a single magistrate must hear and determine from three hundred to five hundred causes a month; in some districts, twice as much; and that he must not only record his proceedings at large, with all the pleadings, evidence, etc., in writing, but also furnish monthly reports of every cause decided, monthly accounts of all moneys passing through the court; and must also correspond, on the business of the police, etc., with the native magistrates under him, with the magistrates of other districts, and with Government; besides an ample etcetera for incidental business.

"You may wonder how any person finds leisure for literary pursuits. It is, indeed, a matter of surprise; and our late worthy president of the Asiatic Society has somewhere remarked upon it. *Apropos*, you ask how we are to supply his place? Indeed, but ill. Our present and future presidents may preside with dignity and propriety; but who can supply his place in diligent and ingenious researches? Not even the combined efforts of the whole Society; and the field is large, and few the cultivators. It was lately hinted to me, that they looked to Mr. Davis, Mr. Wilford, and myself, for the materials of another volume. Now, Mr. Davis has not a day to give to Sanscrit avocations in three years. All

my leisure is employed on three ponderous quartos of Hindu Jurisprudence. The whole load, therefore, falls on one.

"If a letter I wrote shortly before I left Nattore has reached you, you may have observed what I mentioned of the discontent prevailing in the army here. It increased so much, that they sent a violent memorial to Government, and, at the same time, came to secret resolutions, of which the object is understood to have been a concerted plan of rebellion, or, at least, measures tantamount to rebellion. The indulgence granted by Government, to the extent of what was in their power, has served to allay the ferment. Many are now content to wait the expected arrangement; but the number of angry men is still so great, that the Commander-in-chief has judged it necessary to travel expeditiously to the upper stations of the army, with a view of checking the tendency towards mutiny. This, I doubt not, will be the effect. Probably, there may have been no occasion for immediate alarm; but, should satisfactory arrangements be much longer delayed, obvious consequences may be apprehended.

"It seems fortunate, at this crisis, that the most powerful of our neighbours are likely to have much on their hands. The Mahrattas cannot, it seems, agree on the succession to the Peshwaship. The chiefs side with different pretenders. Nana Phernaves, with thirty crores of rupees, and Scindia, with the best disciplined army, espouse different sides; and the succession must, probably, be determined by the sword. They might have accommodated matters to repel a common enemy, Zeman Shah, who lately entered Hindustan with a large army of Abdallahs; but our intelligence reports his return, to quell an insurrection in his own dominions of Cabul. Of all these matters you will probably see better accounts in the public prints.

"Your very dutiful son,

"H. Colebrooke."

"*Benares, 10th February*, 1796."

"*Mirzapore*, 21*st June*, 1796.

"Your kind encouragement to write for books confers a great obligation. I need books on a subject with which I am so little acquainted, that I cannot name the particular books which would answer my purpose. I am inclined to believe that much similarity might be traced between the Sanscrit language and the Celtic tongue, and between the Hindu antiquities and the Runic and Celtic antiquities. Several coincidences have been pointed out to me by gentlemen acquainted with Erse; and, in the little I have picked up concerning Celtic antiquities, some points of similarity have occurred to me, especially in respect of religion. I am, for this reason, anxious to possess some of the principal works on the Gothic, Old Saxon, and Erse or Irish languages, and on Celtic and Runic antiquities. Under this general designation, could a bookseller provide such books as will answer my purpose?

"You ask my brother, in what the digest I am finishing differs from the work translated by Mr. Halhed. The digest compiled by order of Mr. Hastings, and of which the translation has been called (I know not why)[1] a Code of Gentoo Laws, is not full enough to enable a magistrate to judge of the fidelity of the Hindu lawyer who gives him a law opinion. That digest might have served as an introduction to a knowledge of the Hindu law; but, even for this purpose, it is inadequate, the Persian translation from which Mr. Halhed made his version being unfaithful.

"The system of Indian law is dispersed in the works of more than thirty ancient lawgivers, or their several codes, and in digests compiled from their works collectively; the commentaries are innumerable, and differ much in their in-

[1] The word Gentoo, which was commonly applied, in the last century, to the Hindus, and is so employed in several British statutes, is supposed to be derived from the Portugese word *Gentio*, Gentile or heathen.—*Vide Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms.*

terpretations and deductions. Some are chiefly respected in certain provinces, others in other districts; but no one is anywhere followed to the total exclusion of the rest. For these and other reasons, the late Sir W. Jones proposed to Government a compilation on the law of contracts and succession from all the digests and commentaries which are held in estimation. He proposed it as a work valuable to our Hindu subjects, of which a verbal translation would assist the different courts of law in the due administration of justice; and by which, perhaps, our rulers may be better enabled to regulate British India as a commercial country, without offending the prejudices of Hindu subjects. How much this digest differs from that of Mr. Halhed, you may judge from its size: although the criminal law and some other topics are wholly omitted, the work is five or six times as large. It is true, that much might have been omitted, without injury to the design; but even that which might be omitted contains curious matter in many points of view.

"When the translation is published (and I trust it will go into the press by the end of the year), I wish to believe that you will have no reason to be sorry I undertook it. In a long work some errors are unavoidable; but I hope they will not be frequent enough to subject me to the lash of criticism."

On the 3rd of January, 1797, after two years of incessant application, he announces the completion of this great undertaking. It may be remembered, that he anticipated only a six months' task; but, owing to an extension of his original plan, he found himself engaged in a most laborious work, calling for unremitting industry. But there was, perhaps, no undertaking in which he engaged with greater zeal. By the regular devotion of some portion of his time (frequently at night) to his work, he was enabled to fulfil his engagement, without neglect of his official duties. His brother, who

passed some months with him at Rajshahi, when he commenced the work, told the writer of this memoir, that he applied himself so intensely as to alarm his friends for his health. They would sometimes propose sporting excursions, to entice him away from his desk; at other times, they resorted to a more summary method, by breaking in upon his studies, and putting out his midnight lamp.

"The task of translating the digest of Indian law, on which I have been so long employed, is now completed; last week I sent it to the Governor-General. It has been attended with expense so much exceeding what I had expected, that this circumstance, joined to some other considerations, has determined me to accept remuneration, if adequately offered: I have intimated as much. Motives of pride, which had their share in dictating the former resolution, must yield to stronger calls; and the labour has much exceeded what I intended to have given gratuitously. I shall, probably, visit Calcutta this month, to arrange the mode of putting the work into the press. Then will follow the anxieties of an author painfully solicitous for the suffrage of the public. I have, indeed, less to fear than most authors. I am not responsible for the matter or arrangement; and elegance of style is not required in works of this nature. Fidelity of translation is all which is called for; and on this point I fear not reprehension. I hope my literary bantling will be presented to you next year.

"I turn to the more pleasing topic of literature and improvement. Types have lately been cast, in Calcutta, for printing the Sanscrit language in its appropriate character. This will be early followed by the publication of a dictionary of that language, which a friend of mine is preparing for the press; and this, again, may be accompanied by a grammar, which I have some intention of giving to the public. When these helps to the study of Sanscrit have issued from the press, it is possible that it may be taken up at our universities

in England, as Arabic is now studied there. Our collegians have more leisure for such undertakings than any residents in India, who have little leisure from official avocations for literary researches. However, the spirit of research is not dead.

"The Asiatic Society have applied for an incorporation. This, it is thought, will give permanence to the Society, and, by adding to its dignity, stimulate the members of it to support its fame. Yet, I fear, on the whole, that the expectation formed in Europe from the literary mine now opened here will be, in a great degree, disappointed. Curiosity will, indeed, be gratified, and some addition made to the history of philosophy, etc.; but, on most subjects, less information will be obtained than is looked for. Yet this shall not damp the ardour of enquiry in

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

The next letter is written from Calcutta:—

"*February* 3, 1797.

"My Dear Father,

"I came down to Calcutta, a few days ago, for the purpose of seeing my translation put into the press in a satisfactory shape, and am now busied in concerting the best dress to let it appear in.

"The Governor-General presented it to the Council, with a minute containing many expressions very flattering to me. As I derive no emolument from these labours, thanks may be the more easily obtained; and, at some future period, it may be useful to have received thanks. Should you be of that opinion, perhaps it may lay in your power, through the medium of some friend in the Direction, to prevail that my gratuitous labours may be noticed by the Court of Directors, in a paragraph expressive of their satisfaction

at the testimony the Board has rendered to my official and ex-official labours in their service.

"I will now ask your permission to open to you views of ambition to which I have been gradually led, and which it would have been presumptuous to unfold earlier. In doing it, I must betray some self-conceit which I would not betray to any one but my indulgent father. You will gather, from the enclosed minute, from the occasional thanks I receive in the progress of my official duties, and perhaps from channels not known to me, that I stand high in esteem, both with the members of Government and with the public at large. While earning a reputation in so many and various lines, I have not hitherto sought to avail myself of it, but contented myself with gradual advancement, which has been afforded me unsolicited. This plan of forbearance, in which I was, perhaps, guided as much by inclination as by prudence, is now nearly arrived at its maturity; and endeavours may be used, not altogether hopelessly, to push me into the Supreme Council. I need your advice, and shall request your aid in pursuing the scheme. If you advert to the few rivals I have in the service, who can have any pretensions to look to a seat in Council, and if you reflect on various other circumstances which will readily occur, the idea will no longer seem wild to you. The means of obtaining for me a nomination to succeed to a vacancy in Council I cannot directly point out. I am aware that reputation alone is not sufficient; but a plan may be concerted, which may, possibly, be crowned with success; and use may be made of circumstances which I cannot yet foresee.

"You will now perceive, what I was before ashamed to explain, the reason why I wished you not to press Lord Cornwallis concerning me. I was confident of being able to raise myself, without exertion, to any of the common offices of the service; and I yet expect to be able, without more help than my personal interest here, to rise yet higher in the same

course of office. I therefore wished to retain Lord Cornwallis' good will, that I might have his good word, should his advice be asked, if ever it be agitated to name me for Council.

"When the Digest is printed off, you will perceive the most material difference between this and Halhed's: for Halhed's is no translation of the Sanscrit original; and, as Sir William Jones remarked, it is full of gross and dangerous errors. The means of acquiring the Sanscrit language were by translating a grammar and several dictionaries of it, with the help of a Brahmin. I cannot conceive how it came to be ever asserted that the Brahmins were ever averse to instruct strangers; several gentlemen who have studied the language find, as I do, the greatest readiness in them to give us access to all their sciences. They do not even conceal from us the most sacred texts of their *Vedas*.[1]

"To facilitate the future study of their language, I shall employ the leisure of this year in preparing for the press a grammar of it. A friend of mine has undertaken the publication of a dictionary, which will, I believe, go into the press this year. With these aids, it may be expected that

[1] There seems to be no doubt that the first attempt to penetrate the mysteries of Brahminism were met by jealousy on the part of the fraternity; though, probably, this was experienced, to a greater degree, in the south of India, where Europeans first came into contact with the natives. The Abbé Dubois, who was engaged as a missionary for more than seventeen years in the Deccan, and who made it his rule to live among the Hindus as one of themselves, appeals to those who have visited India to support his statement as to the difficulty of holding any communication with the Brahmins. He dwells on "their close reserve, and the jealous caution to prevent the mysteries of their religion, or of their science, or even of their domestic discipline, from being divulged to other men." Halhed, too, in the preface to the Code which he translated, apologizes for the scantiness of the information he can give regarding the Sanscrit language and literature, on the ground that it was only recently that he was enabled to give even this. He states, that the "Pundits who compiled the code were, to a man, resolute in rejecting all his solicitations for instructions in their dialect, and that the persuasion and influence of the Governor-General were in vain exerted to the same purpose." However, he was afterwards more fortunate in "becoming acquainted with a Brahmin of more liberal sentiments," through whom he acquired some particulars concerning the Vedas, and other branches of the ancient literature.

Hindu literature will be studied, in its originals, at our universities.

"On public topics I shall say little, and that from motives of delicacy. Sir John Shore set off, a few days since, for Lucknow, where his presence is certainly very necessary. After resolving on this expedition, he received an invitation from the Vizier,—a circumstance of good omen to his success. The invasion of Hindustan by Zeman Shah excited a very general alarm; without cause, I believe. This prince and his subjects cannot bear the heat of the summer on the plains of India. It is probable he will return to the cooler climate of his dominions, without making much progress in reducing to obedience the rebellious subjects of Shah Alem. The attempt is as vain as that of reducing the rebellious subjects of Louis XVIII. Yet, with all certainty as to its issue, one would deprecate the horrors of war. When shall we see peace restored?

"I shall leave letters for my mother and sister, when I depart hence, on my return to Mirzapore, from which place I cannot promise to write, since I return to a very busy scene of official occupation.

"Your very dutiful son,

"H. Colebrooke."

"*Mirzapore*, 24*th April*, 1797.

"My dear Father,

"Since my return from Calcutta, whence I wrote to you, I have had the happiness to receive your letters of May, June, and October, 1796, and rejoice to find my treatise[1] was not disapproved by you. If I hear it is to be published, I shall revise it for a future edition, to avail myself of the valuable observations received. I sent to Prinsep, a year and a half ago, an amended copy, in which the errors of the press were corrected, and many of the harsher expressions softened. It

[1] On the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal.

was originally written for private perusal in manuscript; the language was much softened, in preparing the work for a private edition; it was further moderated, in revising it for publication; but still, I doubt not, it must have needed much correction, before it could be put forth. Whether published, or not, I am contented; but I am led to fear it may be pirated, if we do not authorize its publication. If there has been danger of a surreptitious copy getting abroad, it would be safer, in every view, to have given to the public an edition revised with the help you were so good as to offer in your letter to Prinsep, and with the precautions you there recommended.

"The book was seen by Sir John Shore and all the members of Government, before any copies were given away. Had they hinted any disapprobation of it, even the private edition would have been suppressed. But Sir John Shore has, on the contrary, expressed his approval of it in strong terms. The greatest part of the two last chapters was written by my friend Lambert. He did submit his sketch to me, before it was put into the press. I revised it, but, being then engaged in translating the Digest, could not give so much attention to that revisal as it deserved. Had you seen either my manuscript or his, you would be surprised how much the language has been softened. I make it a practice to give a-loose to my pen, in my first sketches; and consider the moment of revisal as the proper time for softening down what may be too strongly expressed. It is the only mode I find of avoiding too tame a style, which cannot be well raised from a sketch written flatly at the first. This, however, is liable to the objection, that faulty passages will often escape the eye during revision.

"The Digest had been put into the press, before I received your letter in which you advise sending it to England to be printed. I am not quite sure that I should have followed your advice, had I received it earlier. Though attended with all the advantages you mention, there are some disadvantages

in printing in England what contains many foreign words, and notions far from familiar to English critics. Here the proofs are submitted to me, by which I am enabled to give the work a last revisal, which I could not do with the private edition of my former work, for want of having the proofs sent to me.

"I hope you will find little to regret in the want of a more perfect revision by professed authors. I cannot expect that it will be wholly free from blemishes; but much practice has now made my own eye keener in discovering errors than when I was an unfledged author. The whole will be published in the present year, and the first volume may probably go to you by an early ship in August or September. The present edition consists of 350 copies; and its form is a small folio (foolscap), for office use. Most of the copies will, I judge, remain in the country. I shall ask leave to reprint it in England, and request you to have a handsome edition printed and published, if your bookseller recommends it.

"Davis, who was appointed to Benares, is the astronomer whose valuable treatise is published in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches. The business of his office is much heavier than this: had I been appointed to it, I should not have had time to finish the Digest. Davis has had no leisure since he was appointed, nor for two preceding years in his former post, to pursue his astronomical researches."

The letter proceeds to deal with some matters of private and family interest, and continues with the following request for books:—

"I shall be glad to have Dr. Bancroft's Treatise on Dyeing. If a telescope has not yet been sent, I should wish for one: it will complete a very good apparatus I have got. The editions of Linnæus, which your bookseller sent three years ago, are very old, and of little use: more than three hundred genera of plants have been since discovered. May I beg you to order the latest editions of the Philosophia Botanica, Genera et Species Plantarum, and Kerr's edition of the Systema Naturæ.

I should like to have the latest editions of Lavoisier's Works. I had marked Berthollet on Dyeing, to ask you for it; but I suppose Dr. Bancroft's Treatise may contain the whole of Berthollet's doctrine. Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary and Kerr's Chemical Dictionary are recommended to me. These I should be glad to have, with as many volumes as have been published of Memoirs of Science and Arts; also, Valli and Munroe on Animal Electricity, Mackay on the Longitude, and Crawford's Works on Heat. If you approve Andrews' History of Great Britain, order it to be added; also, Kippis's Biographia Britannica, if it is completed. Paley's Evidences of Christianity is much praised by reviewers. It has not been brought to India.

"I did not mean my observation on the objection to give oneself up too much to study so forcibly as you have understood it. I only meant to say, that one should not be suspected, here, of neglecting official duties for literary pursuits, any more than for less laudable occupation.

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. Colebrooke."

The elaborate undertakings to which the preceding letters refer might be supposed to absorb the few hours of leisure which the judicial duties of his station left to him. With Mr. Colebrooke, they only served to direct his mind to new subjects of research, into which he entered with his characteristic ardour. As the civil law and religious ordinances of the Hindus are interwoven in their legal institutes, the ceremonial law of the Brahmins attracted his attention, and, in following out such researches, he translated some entire tracts, and parts of others. The fruits of these studies were three essays on the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, in which he gives an abridged but very full account of these observances, with verbal translations of many of their prayers. The first of these essays appeared in the Asiatic Researches, in the same year in which the Digest was published.

It may interest the reader to introduce here a short memorandum, from Mr. Colebrooke's pen, on the intimate connection between the civil and ceremonial laws, and the philosophy and dialectics of the Hindus. The subject is of interest, and has some bearing on the history of his studies, which embraced these several fields of inquiry, and to which he was directed by the legal studies in which he was engaged. The memorandum was sent to Sir Thomas Strange, late Chief Justice of Madras, and was inserted as a note to the first volume of his Elements of Hindu Law, a work that is not readily accessible. The connection between the civil law and ceremonial must be familiar to those who have given even a superficial glance at these branches of study; and we find much that is analogous to the history of the early jurisprudence of other nations. I am not aware that he has elsewhere pointed out so distinctly the *triple* connection between the three heads, and the important bearing of the philosophical and dialectic sciences of the Hindus on the different schools of law which have prevailed throughout India. I give the memorandum in full, though the latter portion deals with a subject which is more completely treated in the preface to the translation of the works on Inheritance, published in 1810.

The note is entitled: "Account, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., of the Hindu Schools of Law."

"The laws of the Hindus, civil and religious, are by them believed to be alike founded on revelation, a portion of which has been preserved in the very words revealed, and constitutes the Vedas, esteemed by them as sacred writ. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who had revelation present to their memory, and who have recorded holy precepts for which a divine sanction is to be presumed. This is termed *Smṛiti*, recollection (remembered law), in contradistinction to *Śruti*, audition (revealed law).

"The Vedas concern, chiefly, religion, and contain few passages directly applicable to jurisprudence. The law, civil

and criminal, is to be found in the *Smriti*, otherwise termed *Dharma Śástra*, inculcating *duty*, or means of *moral merit*. So much of this as relates to religious observances may be classed, together with ancient and modern ritual (bearing the designation of *Calpa* or *Paddhati*), as a separate branch; and forensic law is more particularly understood, when the *Dharma Śástra* is treated of.

"That law is to be sought, primarily, in the institutes or collections (*Sanhitás*) attributed to holy sages; the true authors, whoever these were, having affixed to their compositions the names of sacred personages, such as Menu, Yájnyavalcya, Vishńu, Paráśara, Gautama, &c. They are implicitly received, by Hindus, as authentic works of those personages. Their number is great; the sages reputed to be the authors being numerous (according to one list, eighteen; according to another, twice as many; according to a third, many more); and several works being ascribed to the same author,—his greater or less institutes (*Vrihat*, or *Laghu*), or a later work of the author, when old (*Vriddha*).

"The written law, whether it be *Śruti* or *Smriti* (direct revelation, or traditional), is subject to the same rules of interpretation. Those rules are collected in the *Mímánsá*, which is a disquisition on proof and authority of precepts. It is considered as a branch of philosophy, and is, properly, the logic of the law.

"In the eastern part of India, viz., Bengal and Bahár, where the Vedas are less read, and the *Mímánsá* less studied, than in the south, the dialectic philosophy, or *Nyáya*, is more consulted, and is there relied on for rules of reasoning and interpretation upon questions of law, as well as upon metaphysical topics.

"Hence have arisen two principal sects, or schools, which, construing the same text variously, deduce, upon some important points of law, different inferences from the same maxims of law. They are subdivided, by further diversity of doctrine,

into several more schools or sects of jurisprudence, which having adopted, for their chief guide, some favourite author, have given currency to his doctrine in particular countries, or among distinct Hindu nations: for the whole Hindu people comprise divers tongues; and the manners and opinions prevalent among them differ not less than their language."

"The school of Benares, the prevailing one in middle India, is chiefly governed by the authority of the *Mitácshará* of Vijnyánéśwara, a commentary on the Institutes of Yájnyavalcya. It is implicitly followed in the city and province of Benares; so much so, that the ordinary phraseology of references for law opinions of Pandits, from the native judges of Courts established there, previous to the institution of Adawluts superintended by English judges and magistrates, required the Pandit, to whom the reference was addressed, 'to consult the *Mitácshará*,' and report the exposition of the law, there found, applicable to the case propounded.

"A host of writers might be named, belonging to this school, who expound, illustrate, and defend the *Mitácshará's* interpretation of the law. It may be sufficient to indicate, in this place, the *Víramitródaya* of Mitra Miśra, and the *Vivádatáńḍava* and other works of Camalácara. They do not, so far as is at present recollected, dissent, upon any material question, from their great master.

"The *Mitácshará* retains much authority likewise in the south and in the west of India. But to that are added, in the Peninsula, the *Smrĭti Chandricá*, and other works bearing a similar title (as *Dattaca Chandricá*, &c.), compiled by Dévana Bhaṫṫa, together with the works of Mádhava Áchárya, and especially the Commentary on Paráśara, and likewise the writings of Nanda Pańḍita, including his *Vaijayantí* and *Dattaca Mímánsá*; and also some writers of less note.

"In the west of India, and particularly among the Maharaṫṫas, the greatest authority, after the *Mitácshará*, is Níla-

cańt'ha, author of the Vyavahára Mayúc'ha and of other treatises bearing a similar title.

"In the East of India, the Mitácshará, though not absolutely discarded, is of less authority, having given place to others which are there preferably followed. In North Bahár, or Mithilá, the writings of numerous authors, natives of that province, prevail; and their doctrine, sanctioned by the authority of the paramount Raja of the country, is known as that of the Maithila School. The most conspicuous works are the Viváda Retnácara, and other compilations, under the superintendance of Chandéśwara; the Viváda Chintámańi, with other treatises by Váchespati Miśra; and the Viváda Chandra, with a few more.

"To these are added, in Bengal, the works of Jímúta Váhana, and those of Raghunandana, and several others, constituting a distinct school of law, which deviates, on many questions, from that of Mithilá, and still more from those of Benares, and the Dekhin, or southern peninsula."

The fifth volume of the Researches contains two other essays from Mr. Colebrooke's pen. Thaton the enumeration of Indian classes or castes may be considered as another fruit of his legal researches. It will be seen, by the memorandum, which is given below, how closely the subject was connected, in his mind, with these studies. Indian literature throws but little light on the origin of this remarkable institution. But the subject of mixed classes, and the subdivisions which the ancient classes have undergone have engaged the attention of many of their writers, and seemed deserving of a separate treatment.

This essay deals only with this question as it appears in the legendary and legal works of the Hindus. The fabulous origin of the four tribes from the different members of the body of Brahmá is detailed; and the ramifications of the various families of Brahmins, and of the mixed tribes which result from intermarriages among the older classes, are reduced to some

order, from the numerous works that he consulted. But the subject seems to have engaged his attention, at the same time, in a larger and more philosophical spirit. A memorandum is extant, in his handwriting, bearing the watermark of 1798 (the date of the publication of the above-named essay), in which he states succinctly his opinion regarding the origin of the institution of Indian castes, and the progressive steps by which the original simple arrangement of society, differing but little from what has existed in other communities, has been broken into its present numerous subdivisions. The paper is a mere fragment, and, in some points, is suggestive only of further investigation; but it deals with questions which have frequently engaged the attention of Indian antiquaries, and I offer no apology for inserting it here. The first paragraph does, indeed, enter upon a question of considerable interest, and one regarding which opposite views have been entertained. In the opinion of some writers, the division of society into classes such as existed in India, traces of which are to be found in other nations of antiquity, was the work of lawgivers, who, in the earliest ages, moulded the communities whom they governed into this fixed condition. Such is the traditionary account which has come down to us from Greek and other ancient writers, and has been frequently accepted, in modern literature, as representing the historical aspect of the question. It seems more reasonable, however, to suppose, with Mr. Colebrooke, that these divisions were, in their origin, of natural growth, grounded on social and religious distinctions which at all periods of history have been very generally diffused, and have given to the word *caste* a conventional acceptation in modern society. The memorandum is entitled "Heads for a Dissertation, to be prefixed, by way of Introduction, to the Digest of Hindu Law, Civil and Criminal."

"The Hindu nation was divided by its legislators, conformably with the distinction natural in the then state of society in this and other ancient nations, into freemen and slaves (the

Śúdra is also denominated *dása*). The positive institutions of law may be conjectured to have taken place soon after the emigration of the Hindus from the northern mountains into India; founded, no doubt, on previously existing manners, (else, the laws would have had no duration, much less, such wonderful permanency), but leading those manners into new modifications, adapted to the new state of the Hindus settled among the aborigines of India.

"The class of *Śúdras*, or slaves, would consist of those who came into India in that degraded state, and those of the ancient inhabitants (aborigines) who submitted and were spared. Menial offices and mechanical labour were, in ancient times, executed by slaves, and deemed unworthy of freemen. In other countries, besides India, the descendants of enfranchised slaves have not been held on a par with the citizens. If, then, the subject be well weighed, it cannot appear strange that the class of *Śúdra* comprehended all servants and mechanics, whether emancipated or enfranchised, or descendants of emancipated persons. The freemen were denominated the twice-born, because they were required to undergo a series of religious ceremonies to remove the uterine taint of sin; which ceremonies constituted their regeneration, or second birth, through the scripture. The class of freemen included, as was natural, the priest, the soldier, the merchant, and the husbandman. It was divided into these orders,—the *Bráhmańa*, *Cshatriya*, and *Vaiśya*; the last comprehending merchants and husbandmen indiscriminately, being the yeomen of the country and the citizens of the town.

"The order of *Cshatriya* furnished kings and rulers for the people. The name of 'king's son' is indiscriminately applied to the whole tribe; and the whole tenour of the history, such as it is, which is found in the Indian theogonies, (especially the genealogies there exhibited), suggests, and almost demonstrates, that the whole order consisted, originally, of kings and their descendants. It was the order of princes, rather than of mere soldiers.

"The order of the priesthood (as appears from similar grounds of argument) comprehended no more than the descendants of a few religious men, the austerity of whose lives earned for them the estimation of holiness.

"The Hindu nation was, then, divided into two classes, the freemen and the slaves; and, among the freemen, precedency was allowed to the descendants of saints, and, after them, the princes. Neither of these orders were, originally, numerous; and they formed, therefore, two orders of nobility, whose preeminence need not give offence to the great body of the citizens and yeomen. Thus, there were two orders of nobility, the sacerdotal and the princely; and two orders of the people, the citizens and the slaves.

"Legislators endeavoured to provide against the marriage of inferior orders with men of superior rank, by direct prohibitions, and by degrading the offspring of such alliances; but they authorized the marriage of men of superior rank with women, of inferior.[1] The children of the first sort of intercourse were bastards, degraded even below their father; but the children of these last marriages gained the rank of their mothers, or even higher. They were, however, distinguished by separate titles. The son of a *Bráhmaṅa*, by a *Cshatriya* woman, was entitled *Múrdhábhishicta*, which implies royalty. These formed a distinct tribe of princes or military nobility, by some reckoned superior to the *Cshatriya*. The son of a *Bráhmaṅa*, by a *Vaiśya* woman, was a *Vaidya* or *Ambashṫ'ha*.

[1] This subject is enlarged upon in a note at the end of the paper. "The offspring of a marriage between the next adjoining tribes was intermediate between two; and thus were formed three new tribes of freemen,—one noble, the other two, citizens. The *Ambashṫ'ha* and *Ugra* fell into the rank of S'údra; and so did the *Nishdda*, or son of a *Bráhmaṅa* by a *S'údra* woman. A learned profession was assigned to the first, who had honourable parents; the two others had the professions of hunters and fishers allotted to them. Though degraded below their parents, the *Vaidéha* and *Cshattrí* were not impure, but were excluded from the privileges of obsequies. But the *Nishdda* was impure, notwithstanding the nobility of his father; and so were almost all the rest, with, perhaps, some arbitrary exceptions. Some were so much degraded as to form outcasts of society."

The offspring of a *Cshatriya* by a *Vaiśya* was a *Máhishya*; forming two tribes of respectable citizens. The *Cáyastha* fell into the class of *Śúdras*, or once-born men, constituting a tribe superior to the common slave and mechanic, but not entitled to the full privileges of freemen and citizens. [The offspring of adulterous marriages, if I may so term them, formed distinct tribes, but degraded ones, held even in lower estimation than the father.]

"A principle was thus recognized, that an intermediate step lowered the rank of the progeny. Thus, the *Múrdhábhishicta*, having noble parents, was noble. The *Máhishya*, having free parents, was honourable; and so was the *Ambasht'ha*, for the same reason, though a degree intervene. But the *Caraṅa*,[1] though respectable, since no degree intervened, had not full privileges, because his mother was not free. The *Ugra* was still lower, because a greater disproportion of rank existed between the parents; and the *Nishúda* still lower, because the disproportion was still greater.

"The *Súta*, having noble parents, though in the reversed order, had the honourable office of charioteer (in those days honourable, as connected with military affairs), but was not noble. [Examine more fully, by collation of *Menu*, *Náreda*, and *Yájnyavalcya*, etc., the various situations in which these new tribes were placed].

"The legislators so provided for the rank to be assigned to the new tribes, and pointed out professions suitable to that rank. The tribes, necessarily, had an internal government: at the same time, professions were naturally formed into companies. From this source, while the corporations imitated the regulations of tribes, a multitude of new and arbitrary tribes sprang up, the origin of which, as assigned by *Menu*, etc., is, probably, fanciful.

"Recapitulate and elucidate the topic, and argue on the real degree of limitation of professions. Men have been raised

[1] *Cáyastha*. *Vide* Essay in question.

to the rank of nobles by arbitrary acts, and also by legal provisions (*Menu*, X., 64).

"The *Concan Brahmans*, the new *Brahmans* in Benares, *Viśwámitra*, etc. The assumption of the thread, and its effects in course of time.

"*Brahmans* were formerly called priests, and *Cshatriyas* nobles; their great multiplication (that of the first, especially,) is not surprising. At the same time, it does not follow that none but these were found in armies; though, probably, a distinction somewhat analogous to that observed elsewhere, between heavy-armed and light-armed, may have existed.

"The present state of Hindu society contrasted, and the cause of the change."

It may not be out of place to insert here Mr. Colebrooke's views on a subject, slightly touched upon in the preceding paper, but of great social interest, viz., the extent to which trades and professions have been limited or confined by the institution of caste. It came under his view, when treating on the resources of Bengal; and, though his remarks were made with reference only to the present state of Hindu society, and in reply to the erroneous views then prevalent as to the supposed barriers which caste placed against the social improvement of India, they contain matter of general interest, and have some bearing on the question proposed for his inquiry, and which referred chiefly to the past history and influence of these institutions. Even assuming that the division of Hindu society into castes had the permanence and wide influence which have been attributed to it,—a point which admits of some doubt, considering how widely spread Buddhism and other sects have been at different periods of Indian history,—it would follow, from the preceding remarks as to the origin of these divisions, that the great body of the people were but slightly entrammelled, in the pursuits of industry, even in ancient times, by this peculiarity in their social condition. This is, of course, irrespective of the depres-

sing influence of the government by a dominant caste or castes, on the social state of the country, in all parts of India where this system had full sway; an influence which is difficult to measure, and can hardly be understated.

"An[1] erroneous doctrine has been started, as if the great population of these provinces could not avail to effect improvements, notwithstanding opportunities afforded by an increased demand for particular manufactures or for raw produce: because, 'professions are hereditary among the Hindus; the offspring of men of one calling do not intrude into any other; professions are confined to hereditary descent; and the produce of any particular manufacture cannot be extended according to the increase of the demand, but must depend upon the population of the cast, or tribe, which works on that manufacture: or, in other words, if the demand for any article should exceed the ability of the number of workmen who produce it, the deficiency cannot be supplied by calling in assistance from other tribes.'

"In opposition to this unfounded opinion, it is necessary that we not only show, as has been already done, that the population is actually sufficient for great improvement, but we must also prove, that professions are not separated by an impassable line, and that the population affords a sufficient number whose religious prejudices permit, and whose inclination leads them to engage in, those occupations through which the desired improvement may be effected.

"The Muselmans, to whom the argument above quoted cannot in any manner be applied, bear no inconsiderable proportion to the whole population. Other descriptions of people, not governed by Hindu institutions, are found among the inhabitants of these provinces: in regard to these, also, the objection is irrelevant. The Hindus themselves, to whom the doctrine which we combat is meant to be applied, cannot exceed nine-tenths of the population; probably, they do not

[1] "Remarks on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal," pp. 170-174.

bear so great a proportion to the other tribes.[1] They are, as is well known, divided into four grand classes; but the three first of them are much less numerous than the Śúdra. The aggregate of Bráhmen, Cshatriya, and Vaiśya may amount, at the most, to a fifth of the population; and even these are not absolutely restricted to their own appointed occupations.[2] Commerce and agriculture are universally permitted; and, under the designation of servants of the other three tribes, the Śúdras seem to be allowed to prosecute any manufacture.

"In this tribe are included not only the true Śúdras, but also the several casts whose origin is ascribed to the promiscuous intercourse of the four classes. To these, also, their several occupations were assigned; but neither are they restricted, by rigorous injunctions, to their own appointed occupations. For any person unable to procure a subsistence by the exercise of his own profession may earn a livelihood in the calling of a subordinate cast, within certain limits in the scale of relative precedence assigned to each; and no forfeiture is now incurred by his intruding into a superior profession. It was, indeed, the duty of the Hindu magistrate to restrain the encroachments of inferior tribes on the occupations of superior casts; but, under a foreign government, this restraint has no existence.

"In practice, little attention is paid to the limitations to which we have here alluded: daily observation shows even Bráhmens exercising the menial profession of a Śúdra. We are aware that every cast forms itself into clubs, or lodges, consisting of the several individuals of that cast residing within a small distance; and that these clubs, or lodges, govern themselves by particular rules and customs, or by laws. But, though some restrictions and limitations, not

[1] In the eastern districts of Bengal, the Muselmans are almost equally numerous with the Hindus. In the middle part of Bengal, they do not constitute a fourth of the population. To the westward, the disproportion is still greater.

[2] Menu, chap. x., 81, 82, 83, and 98.

founded on religious prejudices, are found among their by-laws, it may be received, as a general maxim, that the occupation appointed for each tribe is entitled merely to a preference. Every profession, with few exceptions, is open to every description of persons; and the discouragement arising from religious prejudices is not greater than what exists in Great Britain from the effects of municipal and corporation laws. In Bengal, the numbers of people actually willing to apply to any particular occupation are sufficient for the unlimited extension of any manufacture.

"If these facts and observations be not considered as a conclusive refutation of the unfounded assertion made on this subject, we must appeal to the experience of every gentleman who may have resided in the provinces of Bengal, whether a change of occupation and profession does not frequently and indefinitely occur? Whether Bráhmens are not employed in the most servile offices? And whether the Śúdra is not seen elevated to situations of respectability and importance? In short, whether the assertion above quoted be not altogether destitute of foundation?"

The other Essay of the same date, "On Indian Weights and Measures," treats on a subject of inferior interest to the preceding; and, in republishing his Essays, he did not think it of sufficient value to be included in the collection. It seems probable that he thought the subject required further elucidation. He does, indeed, commence the Essay with the announcement that most of the authorities quoted were not consulted by him, but were taken from a single treatise which he names. The essay subsequently underwent numerous corrections, at his hands, which appear in his copy of the Asiatic Researches now in my possession. The concluding portion of the Essay, which gives the measures of time, is closely connected with the astronomy and astrology of the Hindus. In stating the "rule for finding the planets which preside over the day, called *Hórá*," he is struck by the coincidence between

this expression and the name for the twenty-fourth part of a day used by us; but, as the treatise quoted above is a modern one (by Raghunandana), it might, he thinks, have been borrowed from Europe. The subject was afterwards followed up by him; and abundant evidence is adduced, in one of the notes[1] to his Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus, to show that this and other astrological terms are evidently borrowed from the Greeks, or other external sources. Two manuscript notes, bearing on this and an analogous subject, are appended to the essay in question. The first merely mentions that the word *Hórá*, in a Sanscrit vocabulary called the *Medini*, bears, among other significations, that of the rising of a sign of the zodiack, or half a sign, on which he remarks, "now, half a sign in diurnal motion is one hour;" thus showing the connection between the Indian and European significations of the word.[2]

The other note deals with a question which has given rise to much speculation. The names of the days of the week, now in use both in Europe and India, follow in a succession which agrees with no order of the planets received in any system of astronomy. The rule for finding the planets that preside over hours, which is given in the Hindu astrological treatise which Mr. Colebrooke quoted, seems to have arrested his attention, as explanatory of this point; and he turned to modern astrology, for comparison. His memorandum is as follows:—

"Chaucer, in his treatise on the Astrolabe, shows, that the hours of the day follow the order of the planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and Moon;[3] and,

[1] *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., note to p. 363.

[2] It is deserving of note, that the word *hórá*, in the passage quoted in this Essay, is used as the equivalent to *season;* thus reverting to the classical meaning of the word ὥρα. This affords an additional proof, if one be needed, of the intimate connection between the Greek and Indian astrology.

[3] This arrangement will be found in Ptolemy's Almagest, ix., c. i., and was generally received in the later astronomy of the Greeks. Sir G. C. Lewis, in his

consequently, the first hour of Saturday being that of Saturn, the 24th of the same day is the hour of Mars, and the first of the next day is that of the Sun; and so on, through the week for ever. In the inverse order of the planets, the succession of them, as Regents of *Ghat'icás*, will bring the Moon to the first of Monday, and the Sun to the 60th of the same day. Consequently, the first of next day is the *Ghat'i* of Mars, and so on, through the week.

"Gibelin, in the 'Monde Primitif,' mistook, by transposing Mercury and Venus, and denied that the days of the week could be so made to correspond with the order of the planets."

The work here referred to is entitled "The Conclusions of the Astrolabie." It is an elementary treatise on astronomy, written for the instruction of his son, "Lytel Lowys;" but it deals, also, with some astrological lore.[1] The passage cited is sufficient to account for the arrangement of the names of the days of the week; and, indeed, the explanation is the same which is given by Dion Cassius, the oldest writer who takes notice of the subject. The passage from the latter writer[2] forms the text of an elaborate paper by the late Archdeacon Julius Hare, which appeared in the first number of the *Philological Museum.* The subject is very fully treated; and, after controverting the conjectural views of Scaliger and Selden, he clearly establishes his main point, that these divisions of time were known only to the later Greek literature, and

Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients (pp. 246-7), says that the first trace of it is to be found in the writings of Archimedes, and that it descended from him to the mathematical school of astronomers.

[1] Readers of Chaucer must be familiar with the astronomical allusions that are scattered through his poems. Archdeacon Hare points out some applications of the astrological rule quoted above. Thus, in the Knight's Tale, Palamon rises two hours before day, and in the hour of Venus, "walketh forth a pas." In the third hour from this, "up rose the Sonne, and up rose Emelie;" and, this being the moon's hour, she proceeds to the temple of Diana. Lastly,

> "The nexte houre of Mars following this
> Arcite unto the temple walkid is
> Of fierse Mars."

[2] Dion Cassius, xxvii., 18.

that the passage from Dion Cassius offers the only satisfactory solution of the peculiar arrangement of the names of the days of the week. But the question arises, Whence was it derived? Archdeacon Hare merely suggests grounds for supposing that it was derived from the Chaldeans. Mr. Colebrooke's memorandum shows the application of the rule to modern Hindu astrology; and nothing that we have before us gives reason for supposing that this portion of Hindu astrology belongs to the ancient literature of India. It deserves notice, here, because the explanation given by Mr. Colebrooke throws light on his references to Indian astrology, given in his Essay on the Indian divisions of the Zodiac. The rule by which the astrological divisions called *Yógas* are connected with the lunar mansions, will bring every fifth *Nacshatra*, in turn, to govern each successive day of the week; it being assumed that they each preside, in turn, over every sixtieth division of the day, the usual Indian division called *Ghat'i*.[1]

But I must here leave this obscure question, which, though only slightly touched upon in Mr. Colebrooke's memorandum, and though devoid of any real scientific interest, is well deserving of attention.

[1] Miscellaneous Essays, vol. II. pp. 362–3, and note. It is there stated that every Indian almanac contains a column specifying the *yóga* for each day, with the hour of its termination. In the *Súrya-siddhánta* and other treatises, the *yóga* represents the sum of the longitudes of the sun and moon. The rule for their computation shows that they consist of twenty-seven divisions of a great circle. But astrologers also reckon twenty-eight *yógas*, corresponding to the twenty-eight *nacshatras*, or divisions of the moon's path. The rule for their regulation is as follows:—On a Sunday, the *nacshatras* answer to the *yógas* in their natural order; but, on a Monday, the first *yóga* corresponds with the fifth *nacshatra*, and, on Tuesday, with the ninth, and so on through the week. The key to this is to be found in the rule for the planetary regulation of the hours and days of the week. If *Aswini*, the first *nacshatra* corresponds with *Ánanda*, the first *yóga* on the first day of the week, and the list be carried through the sixty *ghat'is* of the day, the list of twenty-eight mansions will have been gone through twice, and the fourth will correspond with the sixtieth *ghat'i*. *Mrïgas'iras* is the fifth, and thus becomes regent of the first *ghat'i* of Monday.

CHAPTER IV.—1798-1801.

EMBASSY TO NAGPOOR—HISTORY OF THE MISSION—LETTERS AND LITERARY PURSUITS.

THE reader is invited to turn from the narrative of severe and abstract studies to stirring public events. The abruptness of this transition is unavoidable in the biography of one who, in his time, laboured in so many and different fields of action. It is rendered the more so, in consequence of a gap in the correspondence with his family, subsequent to the date of the letter last quoted (April, 1797), until two years later, when he wrote from a new scene of public duty.

Similar transfers have occurred frequently in the career of Indian statesmen, especially in the olden time. An active mind adapts itself readily to new spheres of duty; and the frequency of such changes gave to the public service a character of versatility very important in an empire which was still so young. It is, certainly, however, to be regretted, that it should have been thought necessary to transfer the subject of this memoir from public duties for which he was so eminently fitted, to a department so uncongenial to his turn of mind and tastes as the diplomatic. Mr. Colebrooke, throughout his career, was a philosopher in action: the philosophic element largely predominated; and the views he took of men and public affairs partook of a cast of thought which aimed at rigour and exactness in his conclusions. He used to say of himself, jocularly, in later life, that he endeavoured to bring his thoughts to the form of equations. The attempt to treat political and social questions with the severity of scientific methods certainly appeared in his familiar

conversation, and still more so in his published works or official minutes. But such habits of thought do not form the best training for a profession, when the proper study of mankind is man in the individual rather than in the class.

A reference to dates will suffice to explain the change in Mr. Colebrooke's career. In the spring of 1798, Lord Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) arrived in India, where he was met by the reports of the hostile designs of Tippoo; and he at once prepared for war. The reduced state of our military establishments caused him to temporize, and, in the meantime, he set to work in earnest to combat French influence in the courts of the princes of India. With a view to the extirpation of this dreaded enemy, and its still more dreaded principles,[1] he aimed at "restoring the vigour of our defensive alliances," or, in other words, at inducing any native state, which could be brought into such engagements, to subsidize a British force, and surrender its military authority into British hands.

In the furtherance of this great object, Mr. Colebrooke was pressed into the diplomatic service, and sent on a special mission to the court of Nagpoor. Its proximity to the territory of the Nizam, where a treaty was under negotiation for the removal of the French force, and the establishment of one commanded by British officers, gave an importance to the court of Berar, which was enhanced by the prospect of a war with Tippoo. Motives of interest had, on a former occasion, led this Mahratta chief to stand well with the British government, and even favour the passage of a British force through his territory. It was, therefore, one on whose cooperation we might readily count, in the event of a war with Mysore. But Lord Wellesley aimed at more. Mr. Colebrooke was specially

[1] The minute of the Governor-General, of August, 1798, reviewing the state of India, abounds with allusions to his dread of French forces in the pay of Tippoo, the Nizam, and Scindia, and their alleged tendency to Jacobinism. Alluding to those of the Nizam, he observes: "The chief officers of this corps are all Frenchmen of the most virulent principles of Jacobinism."—*Wellesley Dispatches*, vol. i., p. 182.

instructed[1] to give his attention "to the consideration of a treaty of defensive alliance against the detected projects of Scindia, between the Raja of Berar, the Nizam, and the Company, with power to the Peshwa to accede to it whenever he shall see fit." To negotiate a treaty with a contingent enemy such as Scindia was assumed to be, was, obviously, a matter of much delicacy; and Mr. Colebrooke's instructions proceeded to point out the difficulty of the task assigned to him, especially as regards Scindia, and the possible contingencies which might arise, when the Raja's duties, as feudatory of the Peshwa, might conflict with those into which he was sought to be drawn. The mission failed in accomplishing either of the objects aimed at; and it, therefore, occupies an unimportant place in the history of those times. Mr. Colebrooke did not arrive at Nagpoor until Lord Harris's force was advanced to the frontier of the Mysore territory, and pressing on to the decisive engagement which terminated in the fall of Seringapatam, two months later. The subsequent negotiations for a treaty of alliance against Scindia are shortly described in the following summary, by Sir Richard Jenkins, in his report on the Nagpoor territory, written in 1827, and published, semi-officially, by the Indian government. It is, perhaps, a matter of satisfaction, that the mission did not produce the important results Lord Wellesley anticipated from it. No state, except in a condition of decrepitude, has come under an alliance, such as was aimed at, by subsidizing a force at the control of the British government; and, with our knowledge of the subsequent history of these times, it is easy to pronounce that such an alliance with an inferior member of the Mahratta confederacy would have precipitated a collision as inevitably as the treaty of Bassein brought on the war of 1803. It is referred to, in the following terms, in Jenkins's sketch of the history of this state:—

"Since Mr. Forster, who was deputed to Nagpoor during

[1] Wellesley Dispatches, vol. i., p. 479.

the last war with Tippoo, and who died there in January, 1791, no English envoy had been sent to Nagpoor. Few subjects of collision between the governments existed; but the degraded state of the Peshwa's power under the ascendancy of Scindia, the profligate character of his minister, Sirjee Rao, and the evident hostility of that person towards the English and the Nizam, coupled with the expectation of a war with Tippoo, which would have presented an opportunity to give it effect, rendered it expedient to endeavour to draw Raghojee into the triple alliance existing between the English, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, as a means at once of strengthening the confederacy against Tippoo, and of forming a counterpoise to the dangerous influence of Scindia. For this purpose, Mr. Colebrooke was appointed resident at Nagpoor, on the 23rd July, 1798; but he did not arrive at that capital until the 18th March, 1799.

"The Raja willingly assented to the proposed march of a Bengal force through his territories, to join the army of Fort St. George, which was the first point proposed to him; and he professed a readiness to enter into a separate treaty with the British government, in preference to a joint one, when all necessity for it, in its main object, was ended by the fall of Seringapatam, and the death of Tippoo, in May, 1799.

"The object of opposing Scindia remained to be provided for; and Mr. Colebrooke was still instructed to endeavour to obtain the accession of the Raja to a treaty of defensive alliance expressly against that chief. For a time there seemed some prospect of inducing Raghojee, through his fears of Scindia, to join the confederacy, and even to accept a subsidiary force; but the jealousy entertained by the other Mahratta powers of the great increase derived to the British ascendancy from the fall of Tippoo and the partition of his dominions, was soon paramount, in Raghojee's mind, over his former apprehensions, and there being no prospect of a change in his feelings, and, even, suspicions of his meditating to join Scindia

in his projected confederacy against the British government, Mr. Colebrooke quitted Nagpoor in 1801."[1]

I am enabled to fill in the outline of the latter portion of the preceding sketch, which alone contains matter of historical interest, from Mr. Colebrooke's original despatches, which I had the opportunity of perusing, through the courtesy of Lord Salisbury, when he held the office of Secretary of State for India.

It appears singular that the attention of Lord Wellesley was, from the date of the fall of Seringapatam, altogether withdrawn from the progress of this mission, to which he certainly had attached considerable importance. The death of Tippoo to some extent accounts for this; and, in the mean time, great objects occupied his mind,—the settlement of Mysore, the division of the spoil, and, in no inconsiderable degree, the affairs of Egypt. The negotiations with the court of Berar were suspended; and Mr. Colebrooke's private letters show that he anticipated an early withdrawal of the mission. For nearly a twelvemonth he was left without any special instruction as to the views of the Governor-General. He was received with great cordiality, and the proposal of an alliance with the British Government was favourably entertained. Indeed, the mission excited the greatest interest at the Court; and, from the day that he presented his credentials, the envoy was pressed by a continual fire of interrogatories as to the nature of the alliance to which the Raja was invited. The position of this branch of the Mahratta family was rendered critical by the growth of the power of Scindia, and the influence which that chieftain maintained at the Peshwa's court. The disturbed state of Central India enabled Scindia to keep the Raja in constant alarm on his northern frontier, by the encouragement he gave to predatory adventurers. Mr. Colebrooke, from the first, was inclined to think that this Prince was sincerely anxious "for the protection of the British government and the security

[1] Jenkins' Nagpoor Report, pp. 119-120.

of his dominions;" so much so, that he embarrassed the Resident by the warmth of his professions, and the abruptness of his enquiries, as to the state of the negotiations both at Poona and Hyderabad, consequent on the fall of Seringapatam. He was, as might be supposed, especially inquisitive about the value of the territory to be partitioned by the conquering powers; and he evidently anticipated the advance of British influence and troops in the territory of Poona. Mr. Colebrooke was, during several months, left to parry these attacks by general replies; and he was at last somewhat embarrassed by the pertinacity with which the Raja, on one occasion, pressed for information on these points: it led the Resident to report this interview more fully than usual, in the evident hope of drawing the Governor-General's attention to the state of the mission.[1]

It took place in the October following his arrival at the Court, and began, as usual, with enquiries whether the Resident had any commands from the Governor-General. The Raja was, to appearance, easily satisfied as to the causes of this delay, but added, somewhat ambiguously, that, when the negotiations were resumed, he would be found ready to enter into the proposed arrangement. In reply to the renewed enquiries as to the negotiations at Poona, the Resident, without entering into details, described shortly their nature, and pointed out that a considerable share of the spoil of Mysore was set apart for the Peshwa. The Raja, in the same tone, proceeded to press for information on the details of the partition, evincing considerable knowledge of what was going on. When this subject was dropped, he asked the Resident abruptly whether he had a copy of the treaty with the Nizam,

[1] It would have been more satisfactory to the reader, could I have given the history of this negotiation in Mr. Colebrooke's own despatches; but they are very numerous, and enter so fully into details of the discussions which took place, not merely at public audiences, but between the Resident's Moonshee and the Raja's Minister, that I have confined myself to a précis of those portions which contain matter of historical interest.

and, on his reply in the affirmative, he begged him to make a translation of it into Persian, as he could not rely on the accuracy of his own copy. The Resident could not refuse so simple a request, but, not knowing the drift of it, he sought for information, on his return home, from the Prince's Ministers, and was assured, somewhat innocently, that the Raja wished only to study the subject, inasmuch as he had not hitherto formed any written engagement with the British Government, and it was natural that he should wish to make himself acquainted with the terms in which they were usually framed with other native princes before he entered upon so important a transaction. Mr. Colebrooke evaded the request, by sending a copy of a treaty of older date, equally well adapted for study; but he seemed to feel strongly the awkwardness of his position in maintaining the appearance of negotiation without special instructions for his guidance; and, in reporting the matter to the Governor-General, he hinted, more pointedly than seems justified by the event, that the Raja was desirous of a closer alliance. In reply to this and renewed appeals, which Mr. Colebrooke was obliged to make in consequence of the Raja's daily enquiries whether he was in the receipt of instructions, the long-delayed despatch of the Governor-General at length arrived. It bore date the 16th April, 1800, and like the instructions of the preceding year, showed how strongly he was impressed by the dangerous predominance which Scindia was supposed to exercise over the politics of southern and Central India. The recent death of the Peshwa's minister, Nava-Furnavese, had, he considered, removed one of the principal barriers to the ambition of that chieftain; and the whole power of the Peshwa might be assumed to have passed into his hands. The sanguine mind of the Governor-General assumed that, in consequence of the "danger of the Berar Government from the violence and ambition of Scindia," Mr. Colebrooke "would experience no difficulty in renewing the negotiation, or in bringing it to an issue." He was instructed

to propose a defensive league on the part of the Nizam, the British government, and the court of Nagpoor, against Scindia expressly, and against their enemies generally. The Raja, in consideration of the guarantee of his territory, was to accept a subsidiary force; and the Resident was instructed to sound the Raja as to his willingness to cede the fertile province of Cuttack to the British Government, either as part of the arrangement for subsidizing a British force, or for a direct equivalent in money, *or otherwise.*

The precise danger we had to apprehend from the violence and ambition of Scindia (words which recur with the regularity of Homeric epithets, whenever that chief is named in Lord Wellesley's despatches), is not stated in these instructions; nor are the means distinctly explained by which we were to obtain the coveted province of Cuttack, as suggested in the concluding expression. The growth of Scindia's power, which extended from the Ganges to Poona, was a cause of some uneasiness to our statesmen at this period, and he is charged, by Lord Wellesley, with entertaining views hostile to our Government. It is unnecessary for the purpose of this narrative to discuss the grounds on which the Governor-General arrived at this conclusion. It is certain that Scindia thwarted our policy both at Poona and Hyderabad, and we had grounds for doubting the good will of the Mahrattas generally, owing to the jealousy which they felt at the increase of power which our Government had acquired since the fall of Tippoo. It was not unreasonable, therefore, to count on some support from Raghojee, at this crisis, owing to his fears of Scindia.

Mr. Colebrooke, in his later audiences, had been strongly impressed that matters were ripe for negotiation. On one occasion (in May, 1800), he said: "I have received sufficient assurances to confirm me in the expectation that he will gladly accede to the alliance, and that the conditions annexed to it will not occasion great difficulty;" and yet, in the same despatch, the Raja's character is graphically portrayed in

terms that might have raised some doubt of his taking a decisive course at this emergency. The delays and hesitations of the court were attributed to the Raja's weakness in consulting everybody,—ministers, son, and brother,—even taking secret advice from persons of rank who attended the court. At the very moment, too, when his fear of Scindia was at the height, in consequence of disturbances on his frontier, he disbanded part of his troops; and the remainder were kept in a state of chronic discontent, owing to the length of their arrears of pay. This latter circumstance did, indeed, afford some ground for the Resident's belief that he would, before long, be obliged to have recourse to the British government for protection, from sheer inability to hold his position, should the danger of aggression from Scindia become imminent.

When, however, the long-expected instructions arrived, and the Raja was invited to take the final resolve,—whether he should accept the position, involved in such engagements, of security and dependence,—the change that came over the views of the court was almost ludicrous. The native irresolution of his character perplexed his resolves; and months were wasted in promises, evasions, and delays. At one time, the Raja declared, in high language, that he could not regard with indifference Scindia's conduct to the Peshwa; but the smallest attempt to discuss the details of the treaty was met with evasion; and to any hint of subsidizing a British force the Raja replied, that the matter was weighty, and required deliberation. More serious difficulties attached to the relinquishment of the irregular claims which all Mahratta chiefs maintained against their neighbours, and the proposed arbitration of all boundary disputes by the British Government. Mr. Colebrooke was, in fact, so impressed with the difficulty of his task, that all serious negotiation was adjourned until the decision of the Nizam's government should become known. He observed: "In sounding the disposition of the Court on all these points, I must, at all events, use great delicacy; because I am satisfied that the

conditions alluded to will be, in some respects, unpalatable; and it will be inexpedient, I conceive, that he should receive any further intimations of the conditions annexed to the proposed alliance, until the acceptance of the treaty by the Nizam."

It is apparent, even at this stage of the negotiation, that Lord Wellesley had omitted from his view one important element in the politics of Central India. It was essential to his plans, that he should bring within a closer alliance the Court of Hyderabad, which had recently exchanged its French allies for British protection, but was still apprehensive of its restless neighbours, the Mahrattas; and the Governor-General unreasonably hoped that he could combine with this primary object a series of treaties with those of the latter powers, who shared in his jealousy of Scindia. The double arrangement was soon found to be incompatible. The temporizing policy of the Berar government gave sufficient indications that other objects came within its view than its relations with Scindia; and when, at length, it was informed of the conclusion of new engagements with Hyderabad, the result was a burst of excitement for which the Resident was evidently unprepared.

To understand what follows, it should be explained, that five years only had elapsed since the Nizam, in one short campaign, had been compelled to surrender to the Mahrattas one half of his dominions, and bind himself to a payment of three crores of rupees, giving up the minister who was friendly to a British alliance as a hostage for the fulfilment of these engagements. His government, which was tottering to its fall, had been rescued from its most pressing danger by a subsidiary alliance with our government in the preceding year, but the British force could be employed only in maintaining the Nizam's authority in his dominions. By the new treaty it could, for the first time, be employed against the Mahrattas.[1]

[1] That this was the aim of the treaty is distinctly stated by the Duke of Wellington, in his well-known memorandum on the treaty of Bassein. This able state paper gives a clearer insight into the politics of that period than the rhetorical effusions of his accomplished brother.

The first interview the Resident had with the Raja of Berar, after the formal communication of the terms of this treaty, is so graphically described in Mr. Colebrooke's despatch to the Governor-General, that I shall give some large extracts from this curious document.

The interview took place in November, 1800. The principal articles of the treaty had been previously communicated to the court, and were more formally presented to the Raja at a private audience, in presence of his son, brother, and ministers; the Resident conveying the hope that permanent tranquillity and uniform harmony and concord would be the happy fruits of the general alliance of which this treaty was calculated to be the basis. The Raja, after some general expressions of civility, asked him to converse with his minister, on points of great delicacy, in an adjoining apartment. Sridhur Pundit, after a somewhat lengthy preamble, plainly told the Resident, that the treaty was regarded as one of offensive as well as defensive alliance; dwelling especially on the second article, which laid down the principles of the engagement, in support of his views, and referring to intelligence that had been received of warlike preparations on the Nizam's frontier. Mr. Colebrooke protested, impatiently, against the justice of the complaint; appealing to the whole tenour of the treaty in support of his views, and declaring the warlike rumours to be idle gossip.

But the suspicion of our designs was too deeply rooted to be easily allayed; and after offering, on the part of the Raja, to mediate between our Government and that of the Peshwa, the minister renewed his complaint in another form. "Suppose," he said, "a case in private life; should two of your friends combine, without cause, against a third, what must be the situation of a fourth who is anxious to preserve the friendship of all?" "I instantly exclaimed," adds Mr. Colebrooke, "against this insinuation, and with emphasis declared the scope and object of this alliance to be exactly the reverse of

what was now imputed. The design of it was to promote and maintain tranquillity, by a general alliance of all the powers of Hindustan and the Deccan, accompanied by the adjustment of every matter which had been, or could probably become, the cause of interrupting the general harmony."

"Sridhur and Kishen Rao expressed great satisfaction at this declaration, and proposed an immediate return to the apartment where the Raja was sitting. Sridhur made his report of the conversation; and the Raja expressed great satisfaction also, and, turning to me, said that he made me the depositary of his most secret thoughts, and implicitly trusted to my discretion. He then launched out in praises of the British nation, and paid many compliments to your Lordship; and after reciprocal compliments, which were, indeed, more than usually profuse during this interview, I closed the business by requesting that, after the articles of the treaty, and the 18th in particular,[1] should have been sufficiently considered, the Raja would be pleased to make known to me his sentiments on the clause which expressly concerns him."

Mr. Colebrooke's comments on the conduct of the court, are interesting. He observes: "During the whole of the last winter, the Raja's solicitude for the British alliance was extreme. The Raja, or his minister, daily enquired whether I was authorized to proceed in the negotiations; and this continued almost until the moment when I made overtures for the renewal of the negotiation in May last. Those overtures were received with great complacency; and the minister more than once proposed that the project of a treaty should be immediately drawn out. During the whole of this period, and until the commencement of last month, and even to a later period,[2] the Raja seemed solicitous to treat, and the court was openly

[1] This article provides for the admission of the Peshwa and Raghojee to the alliance.

[2] This is scarcely borne out by the previous despatches. The description of the Raja's hesitation, which I have quoted in a preceding page, is taken from despatches of the 6th and 16th July, 1800.

and avowedly inveterate against Scindia, and unreserved in applauding the projected alliance, to which it was ready to accede, or to which, in the figurative language here employed, it had already acceded." This was now altered, as Mr. Colebrooke thought, by the reconciliation between Scindia and the Peshwa; but by what means the former had been reconciled to the Raja, he could only conjecture. The Raja's views had been altered from the moment when Scindia seriously prepared to quit Poona, the Peshwa announcing his satisfaction at the near prospect of being left to the free exercise of his authority. Mr. Colebrooke thought he was blinded by the prospect of exaltation in the mediation of a treaty between the Peshwa and the British Government.

"During the last week," he adds, "the consultations of the court, so far as I obtain information of them, and even the minister Sridhur Pundit's communications to my Moonshee, exhibit an incoherence which shows the Raja of Berar to be confused, and unable to resolve on the part he should take in regard to the alliance offered to him. It is even agitated to reinforce his troops on the Nizam's frontier; and the information I have received is sufficiently authentic for me to ground an unofficial expostulation on the subject."

Mr. Colebrooke's remarks only partially account for the perplexity of the court. If we advert to the relations between the Nizam and the Mahratta States when the British government entered on these negotiations, the clue is not difficult to follow. This court, which was geographically removed from the struggles of the surrounding powers, had been trying to hold a balance between them to maintain its independence, and was well inclined to cultivate a closer connexion with British influence, and even to surrender some portion of its independence, under the pressure of its fears. It now suddenly found itself confronted by a new danger, in the advance of British military influence to its frontier, through the medium of a new and closer alliance of our power with that of Hyderabad. That these appre-

hensions were not imaginary, may be shown by reference to the treaty, which, in terms, was only one of perpetual and *defensive* alliance; yet, as it provided that the friends and enemies of each should be the friends and enemies of both, it made us, of necessity, a party to all outstanding disputes with the Mahratta States. The separate and secret articles too, —which provide for the admission of the Peshwa and the Raja of Berar to the same alliance—show that the principal aim of the treaty was to bridle the Mahrattas; as all the irregular claims to revenue, designated by the name of *chouth*, were, henceforth, to be subject to British arbitration, and one of the clauses empowered us to consider the Nizam's claim to a total exemption from such exactions. It is difficult to suppose that these particular provisions were submitted to the view of the Mahrattas; but, without them, there was quite enough to account for the revival of their old jealousy. This was fomented, in the case of Nagpoor, by the other Mahratta powers, whose irritation was excessive, at finding their rival wrested from their grasp, and placed in a situation to call them to account for their former inroads.

All hopes of a Mahratta treaty were now, therefore, at an end. The success at Hyderabad extinguished all hope of gaining influence either at Poona or Nagpoor; and, during the remainder of Mr. Colebrooke's stay at the latter court, he had to report, in successive despatches, the hopelessness of carrying on the negotiation, or of arriving at any definite issue. In Mr. Colebrooke's opinion, "the Raja, under the pressure of his fears, had been sincere in his desire to promote an alliance with the British Government. This he hoped to have obtained with few, or even without any, concessions; when the sudden reconciliation of the Peshwa with Scindia, and the departure of the latter for Hindustan, relieved his immediate apprehensions; and he was now inclined to ally himself with the Peshwa, to obtain security against the resentment of the British Government, and of that of the Nizam, and in some degree as a

counterpoise against the increasing power of the former." Something of dignity occasionally appeared in the language of this irresolute sovereign. It was now evident to the Resident that it was his aim to avoid concessions, by which the power of the Mahrattas in general might be lessened, while he vainly hoped to hold the balance between the shifting intrigues of the powers of Central India. Though "secretly impatient of his feudal subordination to the Peshwa," he had some sense of the duties he owed to the government of Poona. "Whether," he says, at one of the last audiences, "I be considered the kinsman, the servant, or slave of the Raja of Sattara, it is on account of the relation in which I stand to Sao Raja (whatever that be), that I am interested for the Peshwa. He writes to me that he commits himself to my guidance, as that of a father. Now, my objects are the same with those of the British Government, viz., that general tranquillity be preserved, while no injustice is committed. If then the Peshwa should aggress, my armies will be at your disposal." In fine, it was now openly avowed that the policy of the court was to cultivate the amity of all the powers, while it formed no permanent strict alliance with any one.

For so weak a sovereign to pursue steadily this course, was not to be expected; and the reader would scarcely be interested in following the shifting counsels of the court, during the remainder of Mr. Colebrooke's stay. The jealousy of the Mahrattas was evinced in projects and intrigues of which Poona was the centre; and, on one occasion, a letter from the Peshwa was intercepted, couched in enigmatic terms, but pointing distinctly to war.[1] There is no reason to suppose that

[1] The letter was obtained by the treachery of a Mootasuddee (clerk); and, as Mr. Colebrooke regarded it as authentic, I give this curious document verbatim. "When confusion manifold and various prevailed here, all that was written to require your attendance had no effect on you. In regard to other matters, which you have represented, by means of Narain Rao, and subsequently, the case is this, that on the subject of reconciling enmity and cementing union between Scindia and you, a written message has been sent, and one will be again sent. It is, therefore, written to you that by no means and on no account you should treat

Raghojee lent an ear to this overture. Indeed, some circumstances, which came to the knowledge of the envoy, regarding the disposition of one member of his family, help to account for the feebleness of his conduct.

During the whole of this negotiation, the Raja's brother, Vincajee Bhonsla, was in constant communication with the Resident. Some of his overtures, made through nobles in his interest, throw considerable light on the state of public feeling. Vincajee, who inherited a considerable share of the territory of this state, and held it in a quasi-feudal subordination to his brother, was eager for an alliance with our Government, which would give security to his possessions, and some protection against the notorious jealousy of his elder brother. The intrigue was discouraged by Mr. Colebrooke; but much that transpired threw light on the designs of the Mahrattas, especially at the later phase in these transactions, when popular feeling ran counter to the aims of the British Government. To discriminate between the true and the false, and to detect the real views of this wavering Court, was no easy task. Though Mr. Colebrooke was misled, in the first instance, by the evident desire of the Raja to enter into alliance with our Government, he never sanctioned the extravagant expectation of Lord Wellesley, that the Raja would surrender his independence, except in the last extremity. But, in the later transactions, when the Court became a focus of intrigue, his judgment of the state of affairs is confirmed by subsequent events. It is this only which gives any historical interest to these transactions; and I have given these details more fully than their intrinsic importance deserves, because I thought the

with the English for an alliance with them; for in a short time my object and Musheer's (supposed to mean the Nizam) will become the same. It is incumbent that, having settled your country, you should repair to this place; for on your arrival, and after consulting, we will, with all our chieftains, and with Musheer aforesaid, fetch the ornament of the throne from Delhi, and, making him our leader, face them (probably the English), and even take from them our share of the territory lately embezzled by them. But all these matters will be concerted at a meeting—What more?"

reader would take an interest in this episode in the life of a philosophic statesman, and, further, because of their connexion with the events which led to the war in 1803.

Had Mr. Colebrooke listened to the representation of the parties in opposition, he would have counselled the Governor-General to prepare for an early collision. Vincajee's friends were incessant in their attempts to poison the mind of the Resident against the reigning sovereign. Mr. Colebrooke was constantly assured that "the Raja listened cheerfully to the overtures from Poona;" but, in reply to the direct question whether the Raja would join the confederacy, the answers were invariably evasive. At one time, he received the reply that the Mahrattas were of one mind; at another, regrets were expressed that the infatuation of the Mahrattas should be so great. In the meantime, no overt act had taken place, either in preparing for a meeting with the other Mahratta chiefs, or in military preparations. On this latter point, Mr. Colebrooke reported, in the last month of his stay, that, up to that time, no signs of military movement had presented themselves. In commenting on these intrigues the Resident noted significantly, that "the same persons who were full of rumours of war and aggression invariably affirmed, while speaking of the views of this court, that its policy was to maintain appearances with all powers;" and, on another occasion, in reply to the Governor-General's enquiries, he says, that the statements of Vincajee were quite unauthenticated, and were only to be taken as surmises. In taking leave of the Court he was evidently impressed with its pacific intentions; and, when the Raja visited him in his camp, after he had quitted the city, he accepted, as something more than words of course, the prince's assurances of "unalterable friendship and regard for the Governor-General, and of faithful attachment to the British Government." When, therefore, he was pursued on the first stage of his homeward journey, by the emissaries of the inveterate intriguer Vincajee, he lent an unwilling ear to the renewed warnings of Mahratta designs;

and to the assurances that, in any case, Vincajee would stand by the British Government, he replied with the demand of proofs of these hostile movements; adding that he could not expect to satisfy the Governor-General by inferences drawn from metaphors and parables. "The result will appear in the course of a few months," was the final warning he received from this quarter.

In another point of view these despatches are of interest. They confirm the views of the historian Mill, and other discriminating writers, who contend that the danger which was apprehended from the power of Scindia was excessive, and that the internal jealousies of the Mahratta chiefs rendered them feeble adversaries to our government. It may indeed be conceded, that the restlessness of these chiefs, and the ill-will which they bore to us, would probably have brought them ultimately into collision with our power; and this might have occurred at a time when we were ill prepared for such a struggle. This may be accepted as a palliation for the undoubtedly aggressive character of our policy at this period; but after all, the clue to this chapter in our history is to be found in European quite as much as in Indian politics. One cannot read the public documents of the day without seeing that the leading idea of Lord Wellesley, from the day he landed in India, was to combat French influence; and that to break down the forces in the service of Scindia and the Nizam, officered by Frenchmen, was, in his opinion, and in that of the statesmen who supported his policy, worth the hazard of a war.

The tenour of these despatches certainly supports the view which was taken by the Duke of Wellington and other contemporary defenders of Lord Wellesley's policy as to the remote causes of the war.[1] In their opinion, the seeds were

[1] I refer more particularly to the Duke of Wellington's memorandum on the treaty of Bassein, written after the war, in vindication of his brother's policy (Wellington Dispatches, vol. iii.) He contends, and with much force, that the tottering government of the Nizam must have succumbed to the Mahrattas, or fallen into

to be traced to the arrangements which ensued on the conquest of Mysore, and especially to our alliance with the Nizam. We have seen that the division of the spoil between the conquering powers was viewed with the greatest jealousy by the Mahrattas; and, when the Governor-General followed this up by abandoning the position of neutrality which preceding administrations had held in their relation to the powers of the Deccan, and acquired a protecting authority over the great territory of the Nizam, a collision with the British Government was averted only by the internal jealousies of the members of the Mahratta confederacy, and by the evident unwillingness of the Berar State to break with our Government. In the excited state of popular feeling, which Mr. Colebrooke's despatches describe, the slightest military demonstration on our part would have been interpreted as a menace, and the hostile combination of 1803 would have taken place two years earlier.

the hands of French soldiers of fortune; in either case portending danger to British interests. In many points, the account of the politics of Southern India agrees with that of Mr. Colebrooke; but it conflicts, in one very important particular, with his opinion,—namely, as to the politics of the Berar court, and the character of the sovereign, as the following extract will show. The Duke is discussing the probability of the British Government coming to an understanding with Scindia, as to the joint course to be pursued after the success of Holkar:—"There can be no doubt whatever, that the great object of every Mahratta statesman has been to combine their force to attack the British Government; and if they had ever been free from dispute among themselves, they would have carried that plan into execution. The person whom I believe, of all the Mahrattas, to have been the most determined enemy to the British Government, and who was the soul of this plan, was the Raja of Berar. This person would have been the centre of the negotiations for the concert, supposing that the Governor-General had adopted the plan of the author of the 'Observations;' and on the other hand he would have been the instrument of Amrut Rao's counterplot to support his usurped authority." The reader is left to judge how far a prince such as Mr. Colebrooke describes was capable of the energy which is here attribnted to him.

Jenkins, whose sketch was prepared after Raghojee's death, in 1817, describes his character in harsh terms, as a compound of meanness, avarice, and cowardice, but says he was active in business, and kind to the younger members of his family. The whole sketch agrees closely with what may be inferred from Mr. Colebrooke's dispatches. Jenkins concludes with the remark that "he was certainly hostile to the British Government, and no benefit could efface the losses he had sustained; but he bitterly repented having been betrayed into an abandonment of the temporizing policy of his family by joining the Mahratta confederacy of 1803."—*Nagpoor Report*, p. 130.

I need not detail what followed: readers of history must be familiar with the great events which led to the establishment of British supremacy throughout India. After two years of intrigues and struggles among the Mahratta states, the powerful forces of Scindia, so long a cause of alarm to our Government, were driven from Poona by the robber adventurer Holkar. The Peshwa fled to British territory, and at once accepted the treaty so often paraded before his eyes, which reduced the nominal head of the Mahratta state to a position of practical vassalage to the British Government. Then followed the alliance of Raghojee, under pressure of his new alarms, with his greatest foe, Scindia. The British forces were put in motion, and the allied armies were worsted at Assaye and Argaum. The fertile and much coveted province of Cuttack fell, with other conquests, into the hands of the British government; and the Mahratta states were so broken in military power as to leave the whole of Central India a prey to predatory hordes; a state of things which led to renewed interference on our part, and the final establishment of our supremacy.

I now revert to matters of personal or literary interest, connected with the subject of this biography, after the date of his appointment to Nagpoor. In addition to other and obvious reasons for giving the narrative of his diplomatic services separate from other labours in which he was engaged, it may be mentioned that scarcely an allusion is to be found to political subjects in his private correspondence at this period. The account, which he afterwards published, of his journey to and from the capital of Berar is equally silent on these interesting topics. It will be seen that he at one time contemplated publishing a connected narrative of transactions at Nagpoor, during his residence there, but the same feelings which led to his reserve in his private letters made him confine it to matters unconnected with politics.

He received his instructions from the Governor-General, in Calcutta, late in the year 1798; he returned to Mirzapoor, and

having completed his preparations, started on his journey in the following January.

His route was determined by the unsettled state of Bundelcund, then threatened by one of those predatory armies which, at this period of Indian history, were at the command of any adventurer whose name or resources promised an expedition of plunder, with the chance of ultimate establishment in a conquered country. Aly Behadur, an illegitimate descendant of one of the Peshwas, having raised an army, chiefly composed of Mahrattas, was preparing for his attack on the Boondelas; and, the usual route from Mirzapoor to Nagpoor being rendered unsafe, Mr. Colebrooke was obliged to traverse a wild tract of forest and hill country, lying immediately south of Benares, parts of which had never before been visited by any European. The journal which he kept during this march, and again on his return to Mirzapoor, was afterwards published in the Asiatic Annual Register, and abounds with remarks on the natural history and productions of the country, but is scanty on the subject of the wild inhabitants, who repelled every attempt to procure any information concerning their language, manners, or religious opinions.

On his return to Mirzapoor, the route through Jubbulpore and Bundelcund was open; and here Mr. Colebrooke found some interesting subjects of enquiry in the political condition of this cluster of petty principalities, many of which had maintained their independence through the revolutions that India had undergone during the past century. He was attracted by the manners of chiefs which might be supposed to represent those of ancient and primitive times; and he was especially interested in any locality of classic interest in Indian literature. Neither journey was marked by any incidents of adventure, and though the first part of his narrative consists of a somewhat monotonous itinerary, the descriptions of the geography and natural history of a tract of country which even now is little known, is, perhaps, still of value; and

the latter portion, relating to Bundelcund, forms an interesting record of a portion of central India, more than "sixty years since." I have, therefore, inserted it in the appendix to this volume.

The first letter addressed to his family, after his arrival at Nagpoor, bears date 8th June, 1799:

Nagpoor, 8*th June*, 1799.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,

"In the hurry of preparing for a long journey from Calcutta to the capital of Berar, and, afterwards, during the journey itself, I omitted writing to you. I will now make atonement, by giving you some account of myself for a year past.

"About this time twelvemonth, I was nominated to proceed on an embassy to Nagpoor; and, in the month of August, while I was busy preparing for the journey, I had orders to repair to Calcutta. Thither I went by water, and had the pleasure of seeing my brother, in passing Moorshedabad. After some stay at Calcutta, which was rather irksome, from the daily expectation of leaving it, and the tedious postponement of my departure, I travelled post to Benares; and there and at Mirzapoor I completed my preparations. At length, on the 4th January, I set out from Mirzapoor. My route lay through a very difficult country, part of which had never been visited by Europeans. It was mostly mountainous, covered with forest, and very thinly inhabited. The roads were bad, and many of the passes over the mountains very dangerous, and scarcely practicable. The journey was tedious. However, I completed it in two months and a half, with the loss of a few camels and of much patience.

"The picturesque scenery of hill and wood was interesting for a few days. Something there was to attract attention in almost every part of the route; but, still, the daily march and daily want of occupation palled on the mental appetite. I had

been long tired of the journey, especially as great heat had succeeded to intense cold, when I reached the place of my destination on the 18th March. With the exception of some vacant intervals, I have been since fully employed in my public functions; but I now embrace the opportunity of such leisure as my duties leave me to make amends for former indolence. Yet, not having sufficient time to give all particulars, I will refer you to my sister for passages from a sort of journal I shall send her; and I will here content myself with giving you some idea of the place where I am now sojourning.

"The town of Nagpoor is situated in a valley, surrounded by barren hills of no great elevation. They are barren for want of soil; the valley is so from too great a prevalence of clay. It is true that, in the hot season, most places in India have a dreary appearance. I will not, therefore, pass sentence against this, but only say that, hitherto, its aspect has not been cheerful, and that a clayey country is not promising for the rainy season. The roads being bad and commanding no beautiful prospects, there is little temptation for daily exercise; and my turn for sporting is here, as it has been at Mirzapoor, useless to me, for there is no sporting ground within reach.

"I should have told you that the town stands upon the *Nág*, a small brook which only deserves to be noticed, because it appears to give name to the province. The town is, like most towns in India, ill-built, with narrow dirty streets. But the ground surrounding the palace is more open; and the palace itself is a large and (for a Hindu owner) a magnificent building. It consists of half a dozen courts, completely surrounded with buildings two or three stories high, lined internally with a narrow colonnade, and having a dead wall outside. I have only seen the public apartments. They are spacious, particularly the principal hall of audience, and are well decorated with pier-glasses, pictures, girandoles, etc. The reigning prince has not only a taste for architecture, which he has displayed in the palace he has built for himself,

but he has also a turn for gardening. I benefit by it; for I have got for my abode a neat garden, with a tolerably good house in it. The garden is laid out in straight walks with cut hedges, etc. But I have been long enough absent from England not to be fastidious about the laying out of grounds.

"Adjoining to mine is a similar house and garden, belonging to the heir-apparent. A little further is a very pretty one, lately finished by the reigning prince himself. It is small, but pretty; and the numerous buildings and their splendid decorations are elegant. The effect is particularly pleasing at night, when the fountains play, and the whole garden is illuminated. In a hot climate, and, more especially, in the hot season, the night is the only time when a garden can be visited.

"Of the Court, I may well say that the Raja is, in his manners, more like a private gentleman than a sovereign prince, and an Asiatic one too. His manners are simple, with little pomp, and less appearance of pride. The courtiers naturally copy their sovereign, and live more like friends than servants with him. Yet the Court is not devoid of splendour and dignity. I have seen in it a numerous assembly of nobles, sitting at a respectful distance along the walls of a magnificent apartment, while the select few surrounded the Raja's throne, and sometimes conversed, but oftener listened to the singing of dancing women.

"This part of the Raja's magnificence is what he seems most attached to, next to the diversion of tiger-hunting. All day and all night the exhibition of music and dancing is continued; and so attached are people of the place to that amusement, that, even while taking the diversion of fishing, they have a set of singers embarked with them in each boat. Of his fondness for tiger-hunting I can give you no better proof than his quitting the affairs of state for ten days together to go in pursuit of tigers. At this moment he is absent on such

an excursion, in the course of which he killed four tigers in one day.

"Here let me close, for the present, a subject which may be resumed at some future occasion. Before I take leave of you, let me congratulate you on the brilliant success we have had in India, against our sworn enemy Tippoo. I should hope this great event will ensure tranquillity to our possessions in India for a long time to come.

"Your very dutiful and affectionate son,

"H. T. COLEBROOKE."

The following extracts from Mr. Colebrooke's letters to his family, from Nagpoor, contain all that is of personal or literary interest. The original letters are few in number, and some are very brief. An interval of eight months elapses from the date of the last letter to that which follows. No letter is extant relating to the intermediate period; but the gap will be, in a great measure, filled in by extracts from the journal which he commenced about this time, and which will be given in the next chapter.

Nagpoor, Feb. 24th, 1800.

"I shall shortly dispatch a revised copy of the Treatise on Husbandry, etc. Prinsep and Lambert are requested to be governed by you as to the final determination of publishing or suppressing it. I believe you will find it so moderate, that it cannot do me harm with my honourable *masters*, the Directors. I think it also much improved in the matter and style. It is, however, a matter of indifference to me whether it goes forth or not. My literary fame must depend on my Sanscrit labours.

"A sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches has been lately published. I do not know what are the contents; but the price is reduced, which I think a very wise measure. I did not know it was so nearly finished, and neglected to put the last

hand to a treatise or two I have begun; you will, therefore, find nothing of mine in the sixth volume. I shall, probably, make up for it by contributing largely to the seventh.

"I have ordered the book to be sent to you, with a parcel of seeds I collected here, some of which may possibly prove acceptable to Mrs. Smith or Lady Tankerville. I have neglected to mark each parcel as it was filled, and it would now be a troublesome job to do so, because many are the seeds of forest trees, or of weeds, which neither I nor the people about me can name from the inspection of the seeds only. There are, or there ought to be, if I rightly remember, several sorts of Cassia and of Mimosa, and one or both sorts of Melia, with a beautiful Thespesia, two varieties of Sida, several sorts of Hibiscus; as also the Æbrus, and a few other well-known plants, and some uncommon ones.

"I am, my dear father,

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE.

"My stay here is as uncertain as ever."

24th July, 1800.

"...... Apropos of the causes of promotion, I must have ill described what Lord Wellesley said to me, by way of compliment. I certainly did not understand from it that he had selected me 'for my abilities *merely*.' On the contrary, it was from his compliment that I first learned that I had been strongly recommended to him. What I understood was, that he meant to impress me with the notion that my appointment was partially due to recommendation, which would not, however, have been sufficient, had it not been confirmed by the character he found I bore in the country.

"A report has been long current, in Calcutta and elsewhere, that a new Court of Appeal will be constituted, to relieve the

Council of some of their judicial functions. The same report insists that I am to be one of the members of it. Should this prove true, my mission to this place will, probably, be brought to a close some time next winter. Otherwise, I may, possibly, stay here a year or two more. In either case I am content; both situations are highly honourable.

"My Supplement to the Digest advances slowly. The venerable old pundit employed by me at Benares has supplied me with so little text, that I have set about the compilation myself from the books I brought with me. Notwithstanding my impatience, I still see the conclusion of it at a great distance; so many avocations prevent the regular prosecution of the work. I have furnished the Asiatic Society with a second Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, for this year's volume. The former essay, which Mary told you of, was printed in the fifth volume of the Transactions. I shall, perhaps, publish another Essay or two on other topics, in the seventh volume, if I find leisure to close them this year.

"I cannot too much thank you for the exertions you make to draw the translation of the Digest into notice. I find that I neglected to mention that I had relinquished all intention of deriving any pecuniary benefit from the republication of the book. I abandoned all thoughts of that as long ago as when the Government granted me a monthly allowance, to remunerate past and future labours. Your strenuous endeavours will, I hope, draw such attention to the Digest from those who can decide on its merits, as may advance me in the good opinion of the Board of Control and Court of Directors. I hope the publication of the Remarks (if, indeed, they are published,) will not counteract the good effect of my other labours towards my advancement. In my last letters I informed you that I had sent home a revised copy, to be printed and published, if you gave your consent. I have some hopes that, in its present amended state, the book will afford much useful information, without being unpalatable to the leading men at the India House."

". . . . . The drawings Mary told you of were a collection of drawings of birds, which remained unfinished, because the painter had died; and I could not find another to fill up my original design of adding a botanical figure, with insects or fish, to each drawing. I have since given up that branch of natural history, and devoted myself to observe the vegetable kingdom only. I shall, probably, publish on that subject some time next year. It is by far the most pleasing branch of natural history. My chief disgust to ornithology arises from feeling the cruelty of keeping birds pining for several days, while a draftsman is making a drawing of them. I sent a pretty large quantity of seeds last year; and I hope to send as many more next winter, or, at least, a more curious if not so numerous a collection. Drawings I have not collected. All my nephew's exertions, and those of other friends in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, cannot prevail on any good artist to leave Hindostan to come into my service in the Deccan.

"As I am not sure I shall be able to write to my mother and sisters by this opportunity, let me entreat you to make my excuses. A few months will, probably, make public the result of my present official occupations, which render me so unpunctual a correspondent.

"I am, my dear father,

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

14th October, 1800.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"My agent at Calcutta has, very properly, stopped the parcel containing a revised copy of Remarks on the Agriculture, etc., of Bengal, upon hearing that my friend, Mr. Lambert, to whose house the parcel was addressed, is deceased. It will be now forwarded under an additional cover to you. You must determine whether the work shall

be published or suppressed. If there be real danger of a piratical publication, there is no choice; if not, the suppression will not be disagreeable to me. I do not seek fame from it, since my literary reputation will, I hope, be sufficiently established by my labours as an orientalist. Whether or no the work would be palatable to Ministers and the Directors, it would certainly rouse a nest of hornets, by whom I may be stung. To gratify poor Lambert, I was willing to risk something. I must now chiefly consult my own peace. Perhaps, if there be danger of a surreptitious copy being printed, a middle expedient might answer, and the private edition might be printed at my expense, and registered at Stationers' Hall. Whatever you determine, I shall be content.

"You have, probably, heard that our Governor-General has established a College for Oriental Literature in Calcutta, and intends to establish a new Court of Appeal. It is reported that I am to be nominated a member of the new court, and a *professor* in the new college. Should this happen, I shall be fixed at Calcutta, which is exactly what I now wish for. I shall also be in the road to the ultimate object of my ambition.

"Lord Teignmouth gave you a very true account of the transactions relative to my undertaking the translation of the Digest. What Mr. Harington told him was nearly what I desired him to say. My pride was touched by the suggestion that it would be expedient to devote myself solely to the work. I then refused any salary upon any conditions. It must always be remembered, also, that Lord Teignmouth was chiefly induced by those very circumstances to send me to Mirzapoor. I have been as much rewarded, and as much patronized, as I could expect or wish. Should you have any future opportunity, let me beg you to mention to Lord T. that I am grateful and contented.

"I do not perfectly apprehend what you are so good as to mention relative to the republication of the Digest. I hope there is no idea of my deriving benefit from the republication.

In the Supplement now compiling, the criminal law is included; but it is not the chief subject, and will be much abridged, because it is of little use, since the Mussulman law supersedes it in practice. The chief topics are the rules of special pleading and the law of evidence, both very important titles. Criminal law, ordeal, and the constitution of courts of justice are curious, and not wholly useless, but much less important."

Jan. 10, 1801.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I have had the satisfaction of receiving yours of the 20th May last. I cannot say how infinitely obliged I am by the exertions you make for me. As Mr. Dundas did not contradict the notion that Mr. Barlow stands first for Council, I consider my prospect as too remote to deserve much further endeavour. Perhaps there may be some use in having advanced pretensions on the subject. As little prospect remains of rising to Council, I must be content with such inferior promotion as I can obtain. If the prevailing rumours are realized, I shall soon be raised to an office inferior only to Council, and which will be quite as desirable in every respect, except salary; and that is what I care least about.

"I am glad to find your sentiments agree so exactly with my own, in regard to the inexpediency of drawing emolument from the reprinting of the Digest. Among other reasons, good and bad, one is that I have, in a certain degree, committed myself on the subject of disinterestedness in literary labours; and consistency is very necessary to one who is, for any cause, somewhat conspicuous.

"My compilation and translation (for I execute both tasks) of a Supplementary Digest advances well. Having prepared the materials, I am now putting them in order, and shall have made great progress, I hope, towards the close of the year. I mean, also, to furnish three or four essays to the Asiatic Society this year. One, (in continuation of the subject of

religious ceremonies), on marriages, is so nearly completed as to require but one sitting more. Another, on Sanscrit Prosody, which I am not, however, fully resolved on publishing; a third, on the Indian Theogonies; and one on the *Védas*, cannot, I fear, be completed until I get back to my library. A critical treatise on Indian plants is greatly advanced too; and I have several other little works on the anvil, enough to supply the Asiatic Researches with a couple of essays in each volume, for several years to come. I am sure you interest yourself in my literary pursuits; and I therefore make no apology for troubling you with this detail."

He writes to his mother by the next mail, and again alludes to the prospect of exchanging his present situation for a more dignified post in Calcutta; "and that," he adds, "is exactly my present wish. I shall be glad to leave this place; I have now been two years cut off from all European society but that of the gentlemen attached to the Residency, who are only two in number. It would now be particularly pleasant to exchange so limited a society for the varied company of Calcutta."

He adds, in reply to his mother's remonstrances upon his single state: "I believe I must take up thoughts of choosing a wife, when I go back to Calcutta, if I can prevail on some amiable young woman to approve of one who is fonder of the desk than the tea-table."

This was his last letter from Nagpoor. In his next he writes from

"*Benares, July 20th*, 1801.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"As ships are despatched from Calcutta almost every week, you will, probably, have received some intimation that may take away surprise at the date of this letter. I left Nagpoor two months ago, and, making forced marches the whole day, reached Mirzapoor in little more than a month. It was fortunate that I made the utmost expedition; for, on the same

evening that I reached Mirzapoor, the rains set in with great violence. Had they caught me on the way, it would have been impracticable to proceed with so many people and cattle; and the camp would have been soon invaded by disease, common in hilly countries that are covered with forest.

"For the sake of expedition, I returned by a different route from that by which I went: indeed, I should have gone by this, had it then been passable. It is the same which is described by Mr. Leeky in a journal which you have seen. At one place only was any disagreeable occurrence met with; and this was immediately got over by temperate and cool treatment. I have written a narrative of both journeys, finished, except the last two or three marches. As soon as an amanuensis can be spared from other works in hand, a copy shall be made of it, for transmission. I once had thoughts of adding a narrative of transactions at Nagpoor, and fitting the whole for publication; but, at present, I have no intention of doing so. You must be content to read the manuscript account of the journey only.

"On my arrival at Mirzapoor, I wrote down for orders, and, after staying a week, came here to await instructions. As the Governor-General intends making a progress through these provinces next month, he has commanded me to wait for him here. I am availing myself of this interval of leisure to arrange for the press a good part of my own compilation of Hindu law. It is a most laborious work, which has employed years of hard application, and will require a vast deal more labour for its completion.

"I have not yet the least hint what are the Governor-General's intentions regarding me. He has recorded his approbation of my conduct in terms very flattering; and my friends all suppose he intends to promote me. I do not, however, see, at present, any opening for it; and, before any occurs, something may intervene to prevent his doing much. I do not, indeed, disbelieve his good intentions; but there are few offices

for which it would be worth my while to quit my appointments at Mirzapoor, which I still hold, though so long absent from the place.

"While expecting his Excellency here, I have a good opportunity, which I do not let slip, of adding to my collection of manuscripts, and of conversing with learned pundits on the subject of them. I have lately picked up commentaries on two of the Védas, and shall be able, with this help, to complete, for the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches, a treatise on the subject. The seventh volume, which is now in the press, will contain three Essays of mine; two on religious ceremonies (funerals and marriages), and one on Indian languages. Possibly I may yet furnish a fourth.

"As a man who travels into foreign countries should not return empty-handed, I have brought some curiosities, which I have thoughts of presenting to the Governor-General. There are some specimens of adamantine spar, and, what would come well from me, agates and other stones that are employed by the Hindus, in their worship, as types of the chief deities. I have added a complete assortment of the vessels used by Hindus in the worship of these pocket-idols, if I may so call them; for they are about the size of taws. I shall reserve one set of these idols, to be sent to you as specimens of Indian absurdity. In the meantime, it may be sufficient to mention, that a small oval agate represents Mahádeo, or the god of destruction and reproduction; a globular cornelian, Ganéś, the god of science and the surmounter of obstacles; a crystal taw, the sun; a metallic one, Déví, the goddess of destruction; and the Sálgrám stone, Vishńu, the preserver and soul of the universe. These are the only gods really worshipped by the Hindus,—by some severally, by others conjointly. Such as worship all five place their types in the manner of a quincunx, giving the central place to that deity whom the person happens to hold in the greatest reverence. The Sálgrám here mentioned is a black calcareous stone, found in the Gund-

huc river, which meets the Ganges opposite to Patna. It is usually perforated, in one or more places, by an animal of the snail kind, as should appear from the spiral traces it leaves. In some specimens, the greatest part of the stone has been destroyed by the snail: the phenomenon is curious; and specimens shall be sent to you.[1]

"I am, my dear father,

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

"Extract of a letter from the Governor-General to the Resident at Nagpoor, dated 15th April, 1801.

"I have great pleasure in communicating to you my entire approbation of your conduct, and my sense of your zeal, diligence, and ability, during the whole of your residence at the Court of Berar.

"The above is a copy of the approbation alluded to in the first part of this letter."

[1] Some further particulars regarding the Sálgrám are given in a note to Mr. Colebrooke's second essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus. The stone was found upon trial not to be calcareous.

CHAPTER V.—1799–1801.

NAGPOOR JOURNAL—PAPER ON MUHAMMEDAN AND HINDU DEVOTEES.

SOME interesting portions of the narrative of transactions at Nagpoor, referred to at the close of the last chapter, were preserved by Mr. Colebrooke, and found among his papers after his death. The first consists of an account of the reigning family, and a few particulars connected with the Court and the commencement of Mr. Colebrooke's residence; forming an introduction to the contemplated pnblication. The second is a journal, which he commenced within a few months after his arrival at Nagpoor, and kept at irregular intervals. It was finally abandoned, when the pressure of public business or literary undertakings absorbed his whole time. The third is an interesting but brief account of ascetics or devotees of the Muhammedan or Hindu religion. The latter paper is, unfortunately, incomplete. The two former have been somewhat curtailed; but the last is given entire. I have thought it necessary to omit a rather long account of the genealogy and branches of the Bhausla family. The facts are chiefly taken from a history of this branch of the Mahratta conquerors, by a courtly writer, who connected them with the house of Sivajee, and, remotely, with the reigning (Rajpoot) family of Udeypoor. After Mr. Colebrooke's sketch was penned, he had reason to doubt the accuracy of the account; indeed, it was not relied upon, with confidence, by the reigning family. The authority of Jenkins is decisive on this point. In his account of the rise of the family, he says that the early history is obscure, and that the members of the family whom he knew did not pretend to trace their rise beyond Moodhajee,

who died early in the seventeenth century; and that the pretensions to a relationship with the founder of the Mahratta Empire had either fallen into oblivion, or were never seriously believed.[1]

It will be observed that a considerable portion of Mr. Colebrooke's Diary, which is here given, is devoted to an account of the religious festivals that were celebrated at Nagpoor. They are noted as they occurred, with a reference to the Hindu Calendar, which regulates them. It is well known that the Hindu festivals and fasts are, for the most part, regulated by the days of the lunar months; each lunation commencing (according to the calendar followed by Mr. Colebrooke) with the new moon. The first half of the month is called the bright fortnight; the period of the moon's waning being the dark fortnight. The mode by which the reckoning is reconciled with the sun's motion in a sidereal year is somewhat complicated, and, as may be supposed, very unsatisfactory. To understand the allusions contained in the journal which follows, it is only necessary to keep in mind that the months named are solar months, to which the lunations are supposed to be adjusted. Besides the festivals dependent on the lunar calendar, there are others regulated by the seasons, the most important of which occur in the spring and at the time of the winter solstice. The former class were briefly described by Sir W. Jones, in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches. A very full account of all the festivals which are celebrated during the first three months of the year, from the pen of the late Professor H. H. Wilson, appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1846.[2] The most interesting portion of the latter consists of a comparison between usages current in India and those of ancient Europe. But the materials for the description of Hindu festivals which are given in this paper, as in that of his illustrious predecessor, are chiefly derived from text-books or almanacs in use in Bengal. Mr. Colebrooke

[1] Jenkins's Report, p. 105. [2] Wilson's Works, vol. ii., pp. 151–246.

aimed at a comparison between the customs of Hindustan and those of the Deccan. It is very incompletely followed out; and towards the end of the Journal his notes consist of little more than jottings, to be filled in at a season of leisure. Many of these brief allusions are omitted in preparing the Journal for publication. Other omissions are noticed as they occur.

Omitting, therefore, the account of the family, the remainder of the introductory portion is as follows:—

"The dominions of the Bhausla extend from the Bay of Balasore on the east, beyond the head of the Tápati towards the west, reaching beyond the Nerbudá on the north, and approaching to the Godávarí on the south. In this vast tract Raghojee possesses some rich provinces scattered among more extensive tracts of forest. He counts among his tributaries many chiefs of mountaineers; holds a paramount authority over the province of Chetisgerh, allotted to his brother Vincajee Bhausla as an apanage; and shares the revenues of Berar proper with the Nawáb Nizam Ali Khán, the titular Subadár of the Dekhin. From the fertile provinces of Catác and Garáh, with those of Deogerh and Múltáï,[1] and the districts contiguous to Nágpúr, including also his share of collections in Berar proper, he levies a scanty revenue, with which he maintains a large but ill-appointed army, and supports the state and splendour of a sovereign prince with some show of magnificence, and with much ill-concealed parsimony. Like most Asiatic princes, he is fond of pleasure; yet the propensities of a sensualist have not rendered him careless of the affairs of his Government. He is, on the contrary, diligent in business and patient of fatigue, and daily employs many hours in the despatch of business, and in consultation with his ministers.

"At the time I visited his Court, the minister most in favour was the Persian Munshee, whose office might be

[1] "Múltáï was anciently called Múlatápati, or source of the Tápati, because it is situated near the sources of that river."

described as answering to that of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, though he interfered in other departments also. The next in favour was the Chithínevís, or secretary for domestic transactions. The Phernevís, or Diwan, though his office be of higher dignity, had, at that time, less influence. These constituted the council, and were the persons whom I always found with the Raja at private audiences. These and their nearest relatives, as well as the Raja's own kinsmen, and also the principal commander of the forces, were often admitted to the Council; and they always sat near the Mesned, while the rest of the courtiers of every rank were ranged along the walls of the apartment at public audiences. As all officers are expected to attend the Court and make their obeisances to the Prince, while at the capital, twice a day, and in particular on gala days, the number of courtiers sitting round the apartment was always great.

"Before I proceed to speak of my intercourse with the Court, I must here add that the gentlemen of the Residency and myself, when we visited the Raja, used to sit on one side of his Mesned; his kinsmen on the other side; and the ministers facing it. We were received at different times in divers apartments of a very large palace which the present Raja has built; and sometimes in summer-houses and pavilions belonging to the gardens, which the Raja, his brother, and son have planted and embellished near the town. The apartments were, mostly, well decorated with mirrors, coloured prints, and hanging lamps. The pavilions are handsome edifices in the Asiatic style of architecture; and the gardens, laid out in the Asiatic taste, are cheerful, notwithstanding the uniformity of square ponds and straight walks. The palace itself, built upon the Indian plan of paved courts surrounded by colonnades and galleries, exhibits some traces of grandeur within its enclosures.

"I have already mentioned that the Raja received my first visit the second day after my arrival at Nágpúr. This was

followed, at the interval of some days, by a private audience, and afterwards, but in quick succession, by other interviews upon the business of my mission. I shall not touch upon the subject of it in the present narrative, nor even upon the questions of etiquette and similar matters unconnected with state affairs, which continually occurred at this, as they also do at other foreign courts. Discussion on unimportant points engaged some attention for the time. Such points are, indeed, not wholly unimportant while under discussion, since they are a test of the temper of the negotiation. In a week or two after the Raja accepted an entertainment from me, at which the presents from the Governor General, that had been entrusted to me for that purpose, were delivered to him; and, two months after, he accepted another entertainment, given to himself, his family, and ministers. On these occasions the presents constituted the entertainment.[1] In the interval and afterwards, though less frequently, the gentlemen of the Residency and myself were occasionally invited to entertainments, in which exhibitions of dancing and singing bore the chief part. In the subsequent year the Raja gave us a dinner, which I shall hereafter attempt to described. But I must first notice an excursion, on which we accompanied the Raja, to partake of the diversion of fishing.

"It was in the month of May, during the most oppressive heat, that we remained more than a fortnight encamped with him on the banks of the Canhar river. Spacious sheds, with flat roofs, constructed of mats, had been erected on the sands of the river, near the water's edge. Being lined with white cloth, and the posts covered with the same material, in the

[1] "They consisted, as is usual, of an elephant and horses caparisoned, brocades, muslins, and other cloths in trays; pieces of jewellery for the turban, with strings of pearls for the neck, and articles of European manufacture, among which fowling pieces and pistols of good workmanship were most acceptable. The presents were proportioned to the rank of the several persons; much being presented to the Raja himself and his son, and only single trays to his nephews and ministers, conformably with the usage of Mahratta courts.

manner of arcades, the sheds, when well lighted at night, had an appearance that was not inelegant. The opposite bank of the river was illuminated with good effect; and the Court, when assembled to view the usual exhibition of dancing, was not without magnificence.

"During the day, even at the greatest heat of noon, the diversion of fishing was pursued. Barges, clumsy in shape, but covered with canopies of cloth and of velvet, were allotted to the members of the royal family, and to the principal courtiers; and so necessary are dancers to the amusement of Indian chieftains, that each barge was furnished with a band of dancers and musicians. The barges proceeded slowly to the various music of singers chanting different tunes, while the fishermen dragged nets buoyed by a row of canoes, which sustained another line of nets above the water. The fish, when driven into a narrow space between a line of nets fixed across the river and the moving line of nets that was dragged towards it, endeavoured to escape by leaping over the nets, but fell on the canoes. The wonderful exertions of very large fish, and the high leaps attempted by them, afforded the best diversion; and the Raja himself was often so far exhilarated with the sport as to throw aside all state; and, with many folds of cloth round his head, and a cudgel in his hand, he would sit for many hours on the nets, striking the fish as they fell into the canoes; and, at the close of the sport, would wade through the water and assist in taking the fish out of the nets, and afterwards in distributing what were caught. This last occupation was always the conclusion of the sport; and the Raja himself made the partition, sending some to every one of his courtiers, and despatching many camel-loads of fish to be pickled at home. During all this time the heat was so intense, and the blasts of the hot winds so oppressive that the Mahratta chieftains sat in their barges in wet clothes, while their servants were continually showering water on them by means of squirts made for the purpose."

JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES AT NÁGPÚR.

"September 2nd.—A salute was fired last night, at the moon's becoming visible. This morning, when I passed the artillery-park, the artillerymen were practising with the spunge-staff. They went through the motions of loading and firing four times in a minute; the shortest time in which the motions were executed was twelve seconds. The draught cattle are good, and in excellent condition, but rather too small for large guns.

"This is a season of festivity. It began with the anniversary of the birth of Crĭshńa, on the 8th lunar day of *Śrávańa* (Crĭshńajanmáshťamí), and will continue until the end of the Dasérá. To-morrow, being the 4th of *Bhádra*, will be sacred to Gańésá (Gańésachaturthí). Great preparations have been made for celebrating the day at the palace. Yesterday, the Raja, attended by the ministers, visited the son of the late Muhammed Amín Khán, who was a chief of great power and influence. He and his younger brother enjoy their father's jagir, towards the Nerbuddah. The visit was one of condolence. Amín Khán died a twelvemonth ago; but, the son having been absent ever since, the visit could not be paid earlier. He will receive a present of condolence, on his first visit to the Court. This custom prevails in all Darbars.

"The preceding day the Court went out to see a wrestling match: an *atít*[1] had challenged the prince's wrestler. They had wrestled at the same season, in two preceding years. The first time the *atít* was victorious; the next year, the Musalmán gave him a fall; but, this time, the *atít* retracted the challenge on the ground. A few matches were wrestled by men of inferior note. The jétés (boxers in the Raja's service, natives of   in Carnát, above Ghat, who wrestle and box with the cestus, *i.e.* Bajrmuth, or thunder-fist) did not exhibit on this occasion. The amphitheatre was prepared on the sands of a nullah, two miles north of this place. An immense crowd

[1] Atít, a religious mendicant of the Hindus, usually a Vishńava. *Vide* Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms.

had resorted thither, and were in great measure disappointed of the expected diversion.

"The day of new moon (*amávásyá*),[1] which fell, this year, on the 30th August, is the festival of kine; celebrated throughout the Dacshin, but not observed in Hindustan or Bengála. The cattle were adorned with tassels on their foreheads and on the tips of their horns; their horns were painted, or were silvered or gilded; their skins stained with the juice of Lawsonia leaves: and the cattle of the richer people were dressed in cloth trappings, and decked with necklaces of little bells and with other ornaments.

"All the inhabitants of Nágpúr carried their cattle so dressed out to the Raja's Palace. One of the Raja's cows or oxen, another belonging to his son, and a third, belonging to his son-in-law, were worshipped by the Raja's family-priest: flowers were offered; water thrown from the hollow palms of the priest's hands on the cow's feet; water with which the cow's feet had been washed was sipped; and food was presented to the cow, with due ceremony and recitation of prayers. To disperse the cattle assembled in the Palace yard, a vessel full of clods of earth was thrown in among them; the noise of the rattling clods scared the cattle, and set them running, to the great delight of prince and people. The cattle were led about, with music playing before them; and, at night, with torches. The festival is called Pólá. The cows and oxen have not yet been stripped of their tassels, but are grazing and working with their ornaments still hanging to their horns.[2]

[1] Amávásyá. (The day on which there is) a dwelling together, *i.e.* of the sun and moon. *Vide* Goldstücker's Sanscrit Dictionary.

[2] According to the Abbé Dubois, similar ceremonies occur on one of the days of the Pongol festival, held at the winter solstice. The first day passes off with entertainments among relations. The second, which is called the Pongol of the sun, is held in honour of that luminary. The third is called the Pongol of Cows, and is thus described: "In a great vessel, filled with water, they put some saffron, seeds of the tree Pamati, and leaves of the tree Vepu. After being well mixed, they go round all the cows and oxen belonging to the house several times, sprinkling them with the water, as they turn to the four cardinal points. The Sashtangam, or prostration of the eight members, is made before them four times. Men only perform this

"The preceding day, being the sixth from the anniversary of Crĭshńa's birth, the Raja, went, with his court, to visit his minister, Crĭshńaráo, commonly called Cushábú, who has celebrated the festival with great splendour. It is usual to continue the celebration to the sixth day; but some double the period, and prolong the period to the twelfth.

"The birth of Crĭshńa was celebrated here with nearly the same ceremonies as in Hindustan, not omitting the most absurd and disgusting ones which belong to that anniversary. The people go about, crying Canáiájí; they exhibit the factitious type of the infant's meconium, etc. The following day the idol made for the occasion was, as is customary at other festivals, carried, with great ceremony, to the river or to the pond, and consigned to the waves.

"Several other festivals have been celebrated with great splendour here. Among others, the Rákhí, when the Brahmins tie a silk thread, decorated with the figure of a peacock, or some other fanciful ornament, upon people's wrists, in commemoration of Vishńu's incarnation in the shape of a dwarf, to chastise the arrogance of Bali. On the same day young sprouts of corn are presented, especially by courtesans. Here the female part of the Raja's family appeared in public upon this occasion.

"On the 5th of *Śrávańa*, 1st fortnight, the (Nágapanchamí) festival of demigods in the shape of serpents, was observed here; and the festival was prolonged for two or three days. It seems

ceremony, the women staying away. The cows are then all dressed out, their horns being painted with various colours, and garlands of flowers and foliage put round their necks and over their backs. They likewise add strings of cocoa-nuts and other fruits, which are soon shaken off by the brisk motion of the animal which these trappings occasion, and are picked up by children and others, who follow the cattle on purpose, and greedily eat what they gather, as something sacred. They are then driven, in herd, through the villages, and made to scamper about from side to side by the jarring noise of many sounding instruments. The remainder of the day they are allowed to feed at large without a keeper; and whatever trespasses they commit are suffered to pass without notice or restraint." This is evidently the same festival as Mr. Colebrooke witnessed, though celebrated at a different season. For a full account of the Pongol Festival, see Wilson on the Religious Festivals of the Hindus (Works, vol. ii. p. 170).

to be celebrated here with particular superstition, probably from the analogy of the name to that of this town and the rivulet which runs near it. But, I believe, the rivulet and town take their names from the endless serpent of Śiva, a mythological character very different from the serpent-shaped demigods to whom the 5th of *Śrávańa* is sacred. I shall take no further retrospect of festivals, except to observe that the Raja joined with his Musalmán subjects in celebrating the Moharam, and that he very strictly observes all the fasts and other days of religious devotion prescribed in the Hindu Calendar.

"I had often remarked, near the banks of the rivulet, a number of little altars, with a *linga* of Mahádéva on them. It seems they are placed over the ashes of Hindus who have been burnt near the spot. In those parts of India which are situated near the Ganges, the ashes are gathered on the day after the cremation of the corpse, and committed to the river. In remoter places, the heir of the obsequies preserves the ashes until he has an opportunity of repairing with them to the banks of the Ganges. This very circumstance is one chief cause of the great resort of Dacshińíyas[1] to Vindhyavásiní, near Mírzápúr. But here, it appears, that, despairing of carrying them to the sacred river, the heir deposits the ashes in the earth, and places an idol over them.[2] Wealthy persons add a temple. There is a very magnificent one near the adjoining gardens, built near the ashes of Raghu, the grandfather of the present Raja. I learn, from an anecdote accidentally mentioned by Móhenlál, that these mausolea are not frequented by any but the relations of the deceased; on the contrary, a Hindu not related to the person over whose ashes the idol is placed has strong objections to worshipping

[1] Southerners, people of the Deccan.

[2] Mr. Colebrooke added the following correction on the margin of the manuscript:—"It should seem that the idol is not placed over the ashes; but an altar or temple is erected anywhere in the neighbourhood, as a mausoleum, in honour of the deceased. In the central parts of India, simple mausolea, consisting of rooms furnished for resort, are common."

that idol.[1] The present Raja often comes to his grandfather's mausoleum, to perform the anniversary and other obsequies of his ancestor.

"3rd.—After fasting very strictly yesterday, because it was the eve of the festival, the Hindus began the festival of the day by breaking their fast. The idol of Gańéśa, made for the occasion, was worshipped with due formalities, and the Rámjenís (Hindu dancing women) have been all day dancing and singing before the idol. In the evening, the Canchanís (Muhammedan and other dancing-girls) have exhibited before the prince and Court. The same will be repeated daily, for six days or a week; and the idol will be carried, in great state, on an elephant, and launched into the great pond, called the Jamátáláb.

"This pond has been made, like most in this part of the country, by raising a dam across a declivity, so as to complete the enclosure of water by three natural sides and one artificial. (In this instance, the north side, not being naturally high enough, has been also raised, as well as the southern side, where the ground is lowest.) This method is very common at the head of valleys. One large pond, in sight of this town, on the south-west, is called Bimbátáláb; and a stone pipe, or aqueduct, has been brought thence, to convey water to the palace. It has several columns, at different distances, from the top of which water runs over, to the astonishment of the ignorant natives. It is unfinished; and, judging from the progress made this year, it may yet employ several years. When the rains were at hand, a few workmen were employed for a week or two; they desisted when the rains set in.

"Another similar pond adjoins to Shacardara, a beautiful

[1] Correction by Mr. Colebrooke:—"Raghunáth Pandit denies the idols being placed on the ashes. He says people do not frequent the mausolea, because the idol is placed by a S'údra. No man of a superior class will worship an idol placed by one of an inferior tribe."

garden, formed on a rising ground to the south-east of the town, by the late Moodajee, and improved by the present Raja. The garden is surrounded by a low stone wall, and contains, like most others here, a good house in the middle, and is decorated with rows of fountains. Between the garden and the pond, there is a handsome temple, standing in a vineyard. In front of it, the head of the pond has been lined with masonry. It is surrounded by spacious buildings for the guards, etc. Another pond is south-west of the town, near Sitárábágh, a garden belonging to the Raja's brother, which I will describe some other day. To the north-west is, again, another pond, which seems to be rather neglected. Reflecting, one day, on this method of making lakes, which I had already seen in the Vindhya hills, near Mírzápúr, and conversing with Mr. Turnbull on the subject, we thought it possible that the famous lake Moeris might have been made in a similar mode. It is said to have been situated among hills; if the gorge was narrow, a dyke may have been easily made; and, with little labour, a lake of vast dimensions may have been thus constructed.

"The fishing of these several ponds is forbidden. The fish is reserved for the Lord of the Manor; that is, for the Bhauslá himself. In consequence, the Jamatáláb abounds with fish; and so does the one at Telankaree, near Sitárábágh; but the others, probably liable to nocturnal depredations, do not seem to have much fish in them. One would think that the frogs were also protected here; for the pools and nullahs are full of the largest bull-frogs. I have seen or heard of several of these, and of the common ponds having been dug deep enough to come at springs. The Bimbatáláb is formed from the Nág-nadí, whose course is stopped by a dam across the gorge of the valley. The Nág does not run all the year round.

"This evening, I remarked, by the nullah side, a plate, containing an offering of curds, rice, etc., and near it, a poor little

chicken, crying piteously for its dam. This had been left there as a victim offered to Cálí, who is supposed to animate beasts and birds of prey, especially shakals. I know not why, but I was more affected by the cries of this poor little victim than by witnessing the destruction of hundreds of kids and buffalo-calves immolated to the same goddess. It is a cruel superstition which exposes living animals to be destroyed by birds and beasts of prey. The more sanguinary one, which immolates the victims, is, I think, more excusable; because it is very much connected with a natural appetite for eating animal food (for the flesh of the victims furnishes a feast to the priests, or to the votaries). I think the other superstition, though, apparently, less sanguinary, is of that dark cast which often becomes more deeply black, until it ends in some assassination, committed for the purpose of offering a human victim to the bloodthirsty goddess.

"10th.—Yesterday evening, the image made for Gańéśa's festival was consigned to the waters. The crowd was very great, and the Raja and his court attended. From the top of the hill Sítábárí, at the south end of the Jamátáláb, with the help of a good telescope, the exhibition was very distinctly seen. As usual, there was little to see but the crowd itself. Two days earlier, I visited the Raja, and some exhibitions of dancing and singing, in honour of Gańéśa. The Raja was much taken up with dispatches from Poona, and conversed, with much earnestness concerning them, with Śrídhar, Crĭshńaráo, and Bhawáńí Cálú. In a line, opposite to him and us, sat the Court. The several Sirdárs dropped in one by one; and the Raja had the trouble of rising, more or less, to return the bow made by each. The military chiefs were well dressed,—on our account I heard,—for else they are, I understand, very slovenly in general, to show that they are more of the soldier than the beau.

"To-day, there is a great resort to bathe at the junction of the nullahs, near a new temple in sight of my abode. The

females of the royal family have been there. It is considered as a Mélá (Mehlá), I do not find that there is another occasion of it, but the conclusion of the festival of Gańéśa.

11th.—The rains have held up so long that the roads are become passable. Firewood is now dragged from the forest by bullocks. The poor people continue to bring faggots for sale, on their heads. I have sometimes met camels, loaded with large logs; and carriage bullocks are much employed, as well as draught cattle. Firewood is here a very scarce article. The hills round the town are very bare of wood, and, indeed, of any vegetation. The forests are distant from twelve to fifteen cos; and the nullahs are, mostly, unnavigable; and those which might be navigated are not so employed. The people seem scarcely to have a notion of navigation. Probably the rivers are too dangerous, when the torrents come down in the rainy season; they are, certainly, too shallow in the dry months. The provident inhabitants lay in a large stock of wood for themselves, and hay for their cattle, before the rains set in. The town is surrounded on all sides with lofty stacks of wood and of hay, not a few of which belong to the Raja himself. All the best grass lands round Nágpúr are reserved for his own use. They are now set apart for hay, which will be mown in next month, and serve as a stock for feeding elephants, camels, horses and oxen, during the whole year. No fresh fodder, but grass, can be obtained at this place. The straw of maize and similar grain, which is the best dry fodder, is so dear that even the Raja seldom affords it to any of his cattle but his best horses and prime elephants. The camels and oxen are as seldom fed with chaff. In short, grass and hay are almost the sole food of every sort of cattle.

"This is, certainly, a very high country. The maps show, in this neighbourhood, the sources of rivers which run to both sides of India. The hills in which the Nerbuddah (Nermadá) and Sóne rise may be (and, I think, they are) higher ground; but the Góndwáná is the country in which rise all the little

rivers which fall into the Godáverí, many of which are, like that sacred river of the Decshin, called Gangá, in saucy emulation of the noble Ganges. It is, probably, owing to the elevation of the country that the wind is so uniform in the same quarter, and that the weather is so cool. Since we removed here, in March, the wind has blown, almost invariably, from the north-west quarter; often, however, deviating a little nearer to west, and, more rarely, nearer to north. It has almost always blown moderately strong. The exceptions have been rare. It has blown two or three days, at intervals, from the eastward, and, for a few hours at a time, from the southward.

"As a further retrospect of the weather, take the following. The weather was very hot throughout the months of April and May. In the two last weeks of March, squalls of wind and rain came on almost every evening; but, in April and May, the weather was dry and sultry. The wind blew, almost invariably, from the west, and was hot and parching. On the 31st May, it rained, in the evening, for an hour. Throughout June, and mostly in July and August, the weather was cloudy. It rained, on the 7th June, pretty smartly; and a few slight showers, with some squalls from the north-west, occurred on other days in the first three weeks of June. The strength of the wind seemed to keep up the rain, though the clouds were very heavy. In the fourth week of June, and first week of July, the showers were more frequent and more violent. It blew and rained, continually, for three days, from the 3rd to the 5th July, and, again, but with greater moderation, from the 16th to the 18th. Showers were very frequent in the last week of July. They were frequent, but of less strength and of shorter duration, in the first three weeks of August. Since the 23rd of August, rain has been very rare; and the weather has begun to grow warm since the 3rd September. Before that, during three months, the thermometer stood at 75° or 76°, on rainy mornings; at 77° to 79°, on clear mornings

(at 7 a.m.). It generally rises five or six degrees by noon; and one or two more by 2 p.m. It rises a little quicker on sunshiny days, and less so on cloudy days, and still less when it rains all day long. The changes of weather have corresponded tolerably well with the phases of the moon.[1]

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"14th.—In this morning's ride I met a small herd of wild antelopes near the town. The day before yesterday, I saw a herd near the Bimbátáláb, two miles from the town; and, the preceding day, a single antelope, on the brow of the hill overlooking Sitárábágh. Antelopes abound on all the plains in this neighbourhood. They are preserved game. The Raja is fond of the diversion of hunting antelopes with leopards (that is, ounces), and catching them by a decoy. The one mode I have already had occasion to describe; the other I have not yet seen: but I understand the decoy antelope engages the wild one in fight, and entangles his horns (or, rather, a noose upon his horns) with those of the wild one. The present Peshwa, Bájí Ráo, is fond of this sport, which is truly worthy of the treacherous temper of the Mahrattas. There is, surely, a blameable degree of treachery in employing an animal trained to betray its fellows. The other method of hunting with leopards is noble and princely; and still more so is the pursuit of tigers, which the Raja is particularly fond of.

"In the dry season, when no cover remains but that of forests, and when water is scarce, the haunts of tigers are easily traced. Upon intelligence of any having been traced, the Raja sallies forth, at the shortest warning. The beast is, if possible,

[1] I have omitted a short review of a pamphlet by Major Tone on the origin and national characteristics of the Mahrattas. Mr. Colebrooke's remarks are confined to pointing out the errors into which Major T. and other writers had fallen on these subjects. It was supposed by some that the Mahrattas were a caste, and it was even contended that they were of Rajput descent. Mr. Colebrooke states, as is now well known, that the bulk of the nation consisted of husbandmen, shepherds, and cowherds, and that they constituted a nation, not a tribe or caste.

surrounded by nets; or, if that be impracticable, he is driven out from his lurking place, and shot upon the plain.

"In one of the Raja's latest excursions, in June last, an uncommon incident occurred. A peasant, armed with sword and shield, assaulted a tiger in the nets. The tiger seized him, and crushed his hand to pieces. He is still under cure, with Mr. Turnbull, and assigns, as his motive, that, being much distressed to support a starving family, he wished to distinguish himself and attract the Raja's attention. He reckoned that, if he were killed, the Raja would make some provision for his family; and, if he escaped, he should be taken into the service, to remunerate his intrepidity. I judge his expectation will be disappointed.

"Mr. Turnbull's humanity draws on him much trouble and some expense. The resort of patients of all ranks is great; and the success of his practice has confirmed the high estimation in which the medical knowledge of Europeans is held. He has had the opportunity of affording relief to several of the Raja's own relatives; a circumstance which is not without its use, in more than one view. Medicine, indeed, is at a very low ebb among Hindu physicians; and little better among the Musalmáns, who pretend to follow the Grecian (Yunání) practice. The Vaidyas make great use of the most powerful metallic substances, without a sufficient knowledge of the powers of such dangerous drugs. The Musalmáns use Galenical medicines, but are fond of compounds containing thirty or even sixty ingredients. The inference is obvious; and I content myself, therefore, with noting the cause of the little success they have in the treatment of maladies. There is no physician of note here, but an old Armenian, whose history is curious. I shall relate it some other time.

"It has afforded me great pleasure to remark, that the drill-husbandry is known and practised here. I have taken models of the very simple implements which are used, and shall describe them on some future occasion. The crops on the

ground consist, for the most part, of Zea Mays, *Phaseolus* (Max. ? = Urid = Calaya), *Cytisus cajan* (Arher), and *Sesamum indicum* (Til); sometimes mixed in the same field, sometimes sown separately, or two or three of them together. I likewise remark cotton (*Gossypium*), Sánwán, and other small grains; and fields of Rámtura'í (*Hibiscus esculentus*), and various sorts of gourds, cucumbers, pompions, etc. This, indeed, seems to be the natural season of most plants of the cucurbitaceous order. A great variety of wild plants of this order are now in flower: *Trichosanthus, Momerdica Cucumbita Cucumis, Bryonia*, etc. A vast variety of convolvuluses are, now, likewise, in full blossom; some very beautiful. A sort of marigold (*Chrysanthemum Indicum*, I think,) is here cultivated. I have seen several fields of it. Some tell me it is only used as fodder for cows and horses; but others assert it is employed as a pot herb.

"26th.—An old Musalmán comes nearly once a week to this garden, on his weekly circuit of the town, to proclaim his (or, rather, his daughters') wants. He is a Pírzádeh, or descendant from some saint or another; and, being too poor to defray the charges of his (two) daughters' nuptials, takes this method of soliciting any charitably disposed person to lay up a treasure in heaven by disbursing some money for the marriage of the old gentleman's daughters. This method is not uncommon, of going round to proclaim a specific demand on the purses of the charitable. Some take more direct, and rather coercive means of exacting specific demands from the devout. Nothing is more frequent than for mendicants to make definite requests for money or particular sorts of food. Their requests are, in general, so trifling, that they are oftener complied with than refused.

"Having wandered thus far from the subject, I would, if I had present leisure, describe the institutions and polity of the Muhammedan Fakírs, consisting of fourteen Orders (Khánwádas);[1] who look up to (that is the phrase) four Pírs. They

[1] Khánwáda, literally, a family, applied to a race or tribe.

are governed by a Sirgeróh,[1] whose jurisdiction is local, and does, or ought to, extend over all resident or travelling Fakírs within the precincts of the town wherein he presides. He has subordinate officers, such as Cutwál, etc., and others honorary, as Najíb, Chobdár, etc. All these officers, of both descriptions, are themselves Fakírs.[2]

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"27th.—Yesterday and the day before, the detachment ordered to Hoshengabad marched with their guns. A park of artillery which has been some days before my house is not, as supposed, destined for this detachment, but formed by way of preparation for the Daséra. It consists of two very small guns, brass ordnance, three of larger calibre (about nine-pounders), and one mortar. The carriages are coarsely made, on a bad construction. The cattle is good. The tumbrels are common carts, on the most usual Indian construction, and very strongly built; but the construction itself is bad. There are about a dozen or fifteen of them.

"Oct. 1st.—By an accidental mention of the rate at which the inhabitants of the town are supplied with water, I find that about four annas a month is a common rate for one jar filled daily.

"30th.—The whole month has nearly elapsed without leisure to proceed with this Journal, or, rather, without inclination when there has been leisure. The Díwálí (Dípávalí) or Dípánwitá has overtaken me, before I have noticed the Daséra; and the month has not been deficient in occurrences which must now be, for the most part, omitted. The 28th, being the day of the conjunction in *Cártica*, was celebrated in the manner usual throughout India; namely, with illuminations around houses, in honour of Lacshmí, and to celebrate the defeat of the demons by Césava. The preceding night was sacred to

[1] Sirgeróh, head of troop, applied to fakírs.

[2] A few slight details are here omitted. The subject is treated more fully in a separate paper at the end of this chapter.

Yama; and libations were made to him during the day: the three nights preceding that were sacred to other gods. The first lunar day of the next fortnight opened with the Dyúta Pratipat, when games of chance are practised, as a commemoration of Párvatí's beating Mahádéva at dice. It is usual to confound these two festivals together; and the practice of playing at games of chance at the Díwálí lasts several days.

"The 29th was ushered in by Hindu women going round their own houses, beating a winnowing basket with a ladle, and saying "away with poverty, come opulence." This practice is universal in India, and has been even adopted by Musalmán women. It has no other origin than the Dípánwitá being sacred to Lacshmí, the goddess of prosperity, and, as the Indians understand it, of opulence. Accordingly, invocations are also made to Cuvéra, the god of riches. The Musalmáns, as well as the Hindus, practise, on this day, "the filling of the Díwálí," That is, they pile up a quantity of Kílé, or fried rice; on one side they put great quantities of different fruits, including seed of floating trapa, or whatever is; on the other they throw heaps of sweetmeats, made in the form of all manner of birds and beasts, and called *Khilon*; they place other figures ot man or beasts, made of earth, and painted; besides this, painted earthen vessels (culiá) are also put on the pile, some filled with *Kílé* and sweetmeats, others ready to be filled for distribution next day. At each corner of the house, or of the principal apartment, one *culiá*, so filled, is placed, for good luck; the rest await the morning's distribution. It is usual, among friends and relations, to send presents of the materials for the Díwálí to each other. The person who observes the festival, or who, as the Hindustani term expresses, fills the Díwálí, must, with his or her own hands, pile up the heap, strew the fruits and sweetmeats upon it, and fill up the earthen pots for distribution. The next day it is given away among servants and dependants. The only novelty I observed in the celebration of the Díwálí here is, that the

female slaves of respectable families issue forth on this day (that is in the morning of the Dípávalí) to solicit presents.

"This day (30th Oct.), being the second of the lunar fortnight, is sacred to Yama, or, more properly, to him and his twin sister Yamaná; and thus ends a week's celebration of fasts and festivals.

"The first nine nights of the light half of *Áświna* are sacred to Durgá. Some, indeed, begin the festival of Durgá six days earlier; others, on the contrary, only awaken the goddess on the 6th lunar; but all continue it to the same period; and the three last are the great days, It was here celebrated with the same religious ceremonies as are universal among the Hindus, but with some, or, rather, with much, difference in the decoration of the goddess. In Bengal, the three last evenings of the Durgá púјá are celebrated with particular splendour and festivity. The 10th day, her image is cast into the river. Here, on the contrary, as at all the Courts of Hindu princes (especially those who rule warlike nations), the 10th day, or Dasérá, is most observed. The new year begins here with the light fortnight of *Áświna*;[1] but opening in the midst of Durgá's festival. New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day. In the meantime, presents of clothes are distributed, by the Prince, to his friends, his relations, his officers, servants, and dependants; and all are expected to appear, on that day, with new clothes, out of the Prince's gift, and with new liveries, uniforms, accoutrements, etc. In short, the Prince holds that he cannot put on new clothes himself, in right of new year, until he has furnished all his friends, etc., with something new to put on also.

[1] The mode of reckoning differs from that which prevails generally in India, and according to which the year commences with the entrance of the sun into the sign Mésha (the Indian Aries). Another reckoning prevailed in ancient times, adjusted to the Lunar Asterisms, and regulated by the winter solstice. It would appear, too, from a passage in Niebuhr's travels, that the reckoning in use in Nágpúr was followed in Bombay and Guzerat at the time of that traveller's visit. The year is said, by him, to begin with the month Kártik, evidently referring to the Autumnal Equinox.

"We were asked to attend the celebration of the day. We did so; and the spectacle was, certainly, grand. The immense concourse of spectators on the plain south of Nágpúr exceeded what I could have supposed the town of Nágpúr to contain. They must have assembled from far and near on the occasion. The avenue was lined with troops and with spectators, from the river to the place where the procession was to move to. Near an hour before dark, I had notice that the Raja was setting off; and I was desired to set off, also, and meet him on the plain. However, it was past sunset before he crossed the Nág river, at the edge of the town. His own, his brother's, his son's, and mother's Zeriputras led the way, carried on the largest elephants. The flags and standards of different chieftains were, also, carried on elephants, and the kettle-drums of some, if not of many, on camels. He sat in a silver ambárí, bowing to the right and left as he went along. An empty silver howdej, with a parasol shaped like a peacock, attended him; his son driving an elephant of his own, an amusement the Mahratta nobles do, here at least, much delight in. Many of the largest Ceylon and other Deccany elephants bore ambárís, in which all the chiefs and nobles rode, dressed with magnificence, and adorned with the richest jewels.

"The procession stopped at the end of the avenue, where a small tree, or branch of one, had been planted, close to a low altar of earth. Here everybody dismounted. The Raja and others proceeded to perform a *pújá* (to worship some divinity) there; and we were desired to sit on one side, so as not to see that ceremony. As soon as the religious celebration was finished, the whole company was assembled, and sat a little while in conversation; after which we took leave, and returned home; and the Raja and his procession soon after took their road homewards also.

"At this season, people of all classes consecrate the tools or implements of their profession; and some, their furniture. A

soldier performs *pújá* over his sword; a Cáyastha over his inkstand, and so forth.[1] The ceremony with the sword, as I saw it performed in one place, seemed singular: a part of it consisted in beating an old man with a *lorá* or large horsewhip. I have not yet got the explanation of this strange mode of adoration.

"Nov. 19th.—An excursion to meet the Queen-mother returning from Jagannáth has been lately in agitation. After various postponements, with and without cause, the Raja set off, this day, to meet his mother and brother. After making some progress he returned, stayed an hour, and set out again.

"Sunday, 24th.—A singular phenomenon was observed by me to-day,—an occultation of Venus by the Moon, visible by daylight. The occultation was complete at $11^h. 27'. 12''.=$ $23^h. 27'. 12''.$ apparent time. The Nautical Almanac must be erroneous, marking this phenomenon at $16^h. 4\frac{1}{2}'$. The difference of two hours (for the longitude of Nágpúr, as determined by Mr. Ewart, is $5^h. 18'. 46''.$,) is too great to be accounted for by parallax, which will not, I believe, account for more than an hour, at most.[2]

"Monday, Nov. 25th.—Venus is again visible to-day by daylight. She is, probably, much oftener visible by daylight than

[1] In Bengal reverence is paid to pens, ink, and books, on the festival of Lacshmí, kept in February.—Wilson's Works, II. p. 187.

[2] The confidence with which Mr. Colebrooke relied on the accuracy of this observation, made as it was when the sun was near the meridian, led me to make a request to Mr. J. R. Hind to have the time of the occultation determined from the data afforded by the Nautical Almanac of that year. He was so obliging as to comply with my wish, and with the following curious result. I should state that the longitude of Nágpúr, as determined by recent surveys, differs only by two miles from that which is given above.

"Nautical Almanac Office, April 23, 1868.

"Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to send you the result of a new calculation of the circumstances of the occultation of Venus at Nágpúr, November 23, 1799. The moon's places have been taken from the Nautical Almanac, those of Venus from Leverrier's new tables. Complete immersion at 23h. 29m. 15s., apparent time at Nágpúr. Complete emersion at 23h. 53m. 51s. apparent time.

"Mr. Colebrooke's observation gave 23h. 27m. 12s. for complete immersion. The agreement is sufficiently close, considering that the moon's places in the Nautical Almanac may require slight correction. I did not, however, think it was

is remarked. She was yesterday much brighter than the Moon: but the greater sizè of the Moon conducted the eye to both planets; and to-day the people knew where to look for Venus, because they had seen her yesterday. The Brahmins not inelegantly remarked of the occultation yesterday, that it was the emblem of the meeting between the Raja and his mother, which was, by the bye, to have taken place yesterday, but did not; so that, it should seem, the planets were not informed of the postponement early enough. The Musalmáns, on the contrary, seem to consider a star being visible in broad day as a forerunner of some dreadful calamity.

"28th.—I remark marble used at a temple now building by the Raja's brother, near his garden. I had already seen it at the Raja's garden of Tulasíbágh, where some sculptors were carving idols of marble. The quarries are not very distant from this place. The marble is good; white with tinges of black, and susceptible of good polish.

"The various constructions of carts here are curious. They have some with solid wheels, made of three planks joined together, the same with those used in Rangpoor.[1] Major Tone, in speaking of the same wheels, used by the Mahrattas for their artillery, justly remarks, that they soon lose their circular shape, and become elliptical. The reason is obvious. These carts have an axle-tree, on which rests a triangular frame, the apex of which is prolonged, and becomes the pole of the carriage.

"Other carts and carriages are upon the common but intricate construction of Hindustan. Others again are upon a very neat light construction, which I have only here seen. The wheels

necessary to delay this note by the introduction of lunar places from Hansen's new tables, which require to be worked very carefully.

"The difference in times in that case is, therefore, clearly owing to the effect of parallax, or difference of position of Nágpúr and Greenwich.—I remain, etc.

"Sir E. Colebrooke, Bart." "J. R. HIND.

[1] A similar construction of cart-wheels was in use in Ireland within the last fifty years. A representation of a cart with these wheels will be found in Hone's Every-day Book, and described as an Irish cart.

have spokes like a star, surrounded by a broad brim. They are, many of them, so small that the body of the carriage seems more like a bird-cage than a place for a person to sit in. Carts for burden, as well as carriages for travelling, are met with on this construction, which partake much of that first mentioned, but are more neatly constructed. The carts have frames a little in the European style, to retain what they are loaded with. I have remarked some carts curiously fitted, in an after-compartment of it, with a stool for the traveller to sit on, while the first compartment holds his baggage. This stool belonged, probably, to the carriage, which was at pleasure convertible into an open riding carriage, by taking off the loading frame and placing the stool in its stead, as the shape indicates.

"Three days ago, a Maithila Brahmin came to see me; he had been wounded and robbed on his way hither from Ali Behadur's camp. He means to proceed to Puna, to solicit the possession of a village of 5000 Rs. which Dhucal Sinh, the late dispossessed Raja of Bundel, granted to him on paper, when he visited Ashtbhuja at Vindhyavásiní, where this Pandit was performing austerities. Ali Behadur offered him, he says, a village of 1000 Rs., which he refused, and is going to Puna, to solicit an order from the Peshwa to Ali Behadur to give him up land to the whole amount. The man is truly absurd, though methodical in his absurdities. He expects that I shall introduce him to the Raja of Berar, and that the said Raja will pay him the first visit, etc. This is the pride of learning, with a vengeance.

"Feb. 29th.—The people of this country do certainly manifest some ingenuity in the economy of labour. The leathern bucket, or, rather, bag, for drawing water out of wells, has an appendage drawn into the trough, by the same cattle which raise the bag, and that by simple means, a string running over a roller placed at the edge of the well. A man and two boys can manage three pairs of oxen, raising as many bags of

water. I have, this morning, seen one man managing two pairs. This, however, was only during the absence of his companion. In Hindustan, two persons to each pair of oxen are employed, one to drive the oxen, and the other to empty the bucket into the trough.

"Last evening I noticed an explosion at one of the quarries on the hill of Sítábárí. It readily occurred to me, and I found it true, that they use this European method of breaking out stones for use. This is another instance of ingenuity. When I proposed this expedient for widening the road at the Ecapaya Pass, which is a very dangerous one, all agreed that no native could be found who knew, or could be made to understand, how to blow up a rock.

"I forget whether I have already noticed the petrifactions at Sháh Ferid's tomb, and the ridiculous fable concerning them. I was deceived by the appearance, agreeing a little with the vulgar prejudice, and supposed them to be, really, petrified betel nuts, etc. It is now evident that they are common calcareous crystallizations, as was remarked by Mr. Williams.

"Tuesday, Dec. 3rd.—The Raja of Berar, his mother, and and brother, returned the day before yesterday. Congratulations are received on the occasion of his acquiring the fort of Mundla, an event of which he lately received intelligence. Upon this excursion he manifested a more irascible temper than I attributed to him. He has confined in irons an elephant-driver, because the ladder gave way as he ascended the Howdej, by which circumstance he sprained his ankle a little.

"The eagerness of the people in collecting cow-dung is ludicrous. Wherever a drove of cattle is moving, a train of women and children follow, to pick up what falls from the cows. A cart or two are also followed by vigilant cow-dung gatherers. The wrangles of the women, and the eager exclamations of the children, when they find a rich prize, are ludicrous. The exorbitant price of fuel at this place gives such a value to the excrements of the cattle.

"The winter crop is now green. It is thriving well, though rain was deficient in the latter months. The dew promotes vegetation, and is assisted by irrigation. This evening I remarked a peasant drawing water from the Nág nullah, to water his fields. He had a frame overhanging the banks of the nullah.

"6th.—There is no barley cultivated here, nor anywhere in the neighbourhood of this place. The little that is brought here (for medicinal uses) comes from Hindustan. It is sold for its weight in copper. Sersún (white mustard seed) is also rare here, being sparingly brought from a great distance, and sold very dear for medicinal uses.

"12th.—The day before yesterday was a festival on the eating of new grain. The Raja and his family[1] (ladies, old and young) went to (his brother) Nana's garden, two miles from town. Fresh cane-juice was expressed from sugar-canes in several mills, before the ladies, and new grain (maize, etc.), was fried and eaten. The festival was kept with more ceremony than is usual in other places; but it is an universal one, and should fall on the full moon of Phálguna, though it seems to have been kept here on the day before the full moon. Two other days, on which oblations of new grain are made, occur, in the almanacs, within the same fortnight. Here, it seems, the festival is not restricted to particular days; but all the relations of the Raja,—and himself, in the first instance,—give entertainments to the whole family, on the occasion. The ladies rode in covered palankeens, with peeping holes, but no blinds. The gentlemen (the Raja, for example,) gallantly accompanied them on horseback. A temporary building, with linen walls, was erected on the western bank of the great pond, for the ladies' devotions, after their return, before they re-

[1] Mr. Colebrooke, describing elsewhere the members of the reigning family, adds: "According to the usual custom of the Mahrattas, all these persons are commonly distinguished by terms of endearment allotted to each. The present reigning prince is called Bapa Sahib, his brother Nana Sahib, his son Bala Sahib, and his nephew Apa."

entered their houses. Pújá was made there, and victuals cooked, as appears from red lead on a stove, under a tree, and plenty of cooking places.

"Friday, 13th.—The other day (but I have somehow omitted to remark it), the garden we inhabit became a place of religious resort. A few rude blocks of stone, at the foot of trees, are idols possessing some holiness. To these came people, in great numbers, to pay their devotions on that day. It must have fallen about a week ago.

"Thursday, 19th.—Coming home from riding, this morning, I met a very large cavalcade going out. It was the Raja and the whole Court, going forth on a hunting excursion, to a grass forest, at a few cos distance, where wild hogs are known to harbour. It is intended to drive them out in the usual manner, by noise, and shoot them as they pass by the sportsmen. If missed, they will be pursued and killed with lances. This, then, will be much in the style of sporting in Hindustan.

"24th.—Ortolans abound at this place already. I have, within this fortnight, seen several small flocks,—this morning, many very large flocks of them. I have before remarked the same, in the neighbourhood of Sassaram, and at other places on the new road, in January; and I have seen flocks of ortolans, early in February, in the district of Purnea. Do they migrate? Or only assemble after a general dispersion taking place towards the end of the hot season? In most places large flocks are not seen until the hot season commences.

"Saturday, 29th.—The Monsoons blow very regularly. During the rainy season the wind was always westerly or southerly, and, for the most part, south-westerly. Since the change of season, it has been as constantly northerly or

[1] The following answer to these questions is on the margin of the manuscript, and added in the year following:—"March 28th, 1800.—The ortolans became less numerous in February; scarce in the beginning of March; and none have been seen here since the middle of the month. They must migrate. Probably they inhabit the mountains during the rainy season. They assemble in the valleys during the cold season, and visit the champaign country in the hot weather."

easterly, and, for the most part, north-easterly. The high situation of this country (which is, certainly, very elevated, as is proved by so many rivers taking their source here and hereabouts), exposes it to the free course of the periodical winds.

"The Raja, with all his family, is gone upon his devotions to the temple at Rámtéc.

"January 2nd, 1800.—The prodigious number of stills here marks the drunkenness of the people.

"Sesamum does not ripen here so early as in Bengal. It is still on the ground; or, at least, some fields of it are not yet reaped.

"The two last days of 1799 were cloudy, with some rain. The weather was close, and the thermometer stood, in the morning, 15° higher than the preceding week. This morning it returned within 5° of its former level. It has not been much below 55°.

"Jan. 9th.—The bringing of Ganges water from Heridwár and from Prayág is a profession followed by Brahmans, inhabitants of those places. They are sometimes hired by the agents of opulent natives in the Deccan to bring water, which, being holy, is used for ablutions, etc. Sometimes they bring the Ganges water on speculation, to retail it, or to be hired to carry it and wash some famous idol therewith, especially that at Deogerh, in the Bírbhúm district. Each basket contains ten phials, of near a pint each. The hire of one man, with two baskets, from Prayág to Púna, *viâ* Nágpúr, as stated by some *Caurorchis*, whom Captain L. questioned, is 24 Rs.; the retail price of each phial, variable.

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"January 12th.—Yesterday was the last day, both of the lunar and solar month. The coincidence of the sun entering *Macara* (Capricorn) at the same time the moon is full is called *Macara mághá;* and bathing at Prayág is particularly beneficial on such occasions.

"The sun's quitting *Dhanishthá* is called *tila sancránti*,[1] because, say the Brahmins, the days begin to increase at the rate of one *tila*, or sesamum seed, each day. *Tila* is, therefore, given away on this occasion. It so happened that last night was the Shub-i-Berát[2] or Muhammedan festival, on which illuminations are made, and fireworks let off.

"25th.—A rutting elephant was let loose a few days ago, according to the Mahratta custom; the driver was on his neck, and another man on his back. He ran at several people, who were saved by Goozerba (the Raja's nephew) riding at him, which diverted his attention from the object of his fury. He soon became ungovernable. He turned into the town, and killed an old woman and a child. He threw his driver, but was stopped and kept at bay by a host of spearmen, in a narrow street. The next morning he was driven out of town and secured, and tied near the Nana's garden. He broke loose the following night, and was, this morning, again secured, after killing a horseman and another person. The Raja and the whole court went out on this occasion.

"26th and 27th.—Came out to Sohengaon (Sonegaon? Sonagaon?) over night, to kill antelopes. This is a place much frequented by the Raja. There is a large building with mud walls, for the accommodation of the ladies of his family,—a one-story bungalow, built as a Chabootra (Cháóree) for the cotwal of a bazar founded here, but which went into decay. A garden remains here, and a temple; also a wall of masonry, like one side of a well, for raising water from the river. The river is the Kanhar; the same where we fished in May last.

"Antelopes are very numerous on the plain, especially beyond Tarsa, and thence towards Rámtéc. Caught one antelope by the decoy, and killed five the first day, and two on the second, with the ounces. The decoy is a male antelope, trained for

[1] *Sancránti* is the term applied to the passage of the sun from one sign to another.

[2] "The night of the record," in which the actions of men *about to take place* in the ensuing year, are supposed to be recorded.

the purpose. Two strings, with a slip-knot, are coiled, and set in the space between his horns. He is led by two attendants, who approach with him, as near as they can, to a wild male antelope on the plain. They then loose him; and he proceeds slowly towards the wild one, challenging him to combat. The other, if valiant, accepts the challenge, and comes down to engage. In the fight, his horn catches the noose; and, drawing the slip-knot tight, he is thus held by the strings which are secured to the roots of the decoy's horns. In the course of these two days the decoys (we were attended by three) were loosed eight or ten times, but only once with success. The last time the wild male abandoned his does, and fled dastardly; other times, the male and does went off together; twice or thrice they did not notice the decoy; once, two males did, but after bounding about him, went off without accepting the challenge. The corn fields much assist the sport with ounces. The most successful method is to head the antelope, drop an ounce in a corn-field, and, making a circuit, come round with speed behind the antelope; meantime the ounce has crept on in the corn, and, the antelope meeting him, the ounce rises, and, in a stretch or two, catches him. One time, the ounce was loosed behind the antelopes, and crept on in the corn as far as he could undiscovered, and then rose and overtook a doe, in a long run of one hundred yards. The ounce does not spring, but runs fairly after the antelope, and has the speed of him. He is, however, somewhat assisted by the debilitating fright of the poor animal, who is, sometimes, in a manner, fascinated.

* * * * * *

"The Hindus here, as in many places besides, respect the religion of the Muhammedan faith. A number are constantly maintained at the Raja's gate.

"One who does not very explicitly acknowledge whether he be Hindu or Musalmán (but is, in reality, a Hindu, though called Dervesh, Maula, Sáhib, etc.), resided close to the garden

I occupy. The night before last, a thief was caught moving off with his effects. He kept him, bound hands and feet, all next day; people, as they passed, beat and pelted the robber till he died in the evening. The fakír was taken up, and accused my people of ill-using the robber. It appeared, on full enquiry, to be untrue. The officers of justice released the fakír, who, it seems, is reputed a saint, and is privileged accordingly.

"23rd.—To-day is kept as *Śiva-rátri*, because the 14th lunar day will commence on the night of this day. The strict fast was observed as usual, and the whole Court went to visit several of the temples of Mahádéva, The temples of Śiva are very numerous here. He is more worshipped than any of the deities.

"The harvest is almost entirely gathered; only a few fields of wheat remain uncut, and some of chiches, in the valley. The harvest of wheat began more than a fortnight ago. It is all brought in carts.

"The scenery from the single hill, four cos south of Nágpúr, is beautiful. Not far from it stands a hill, covered with low wood, and frequented by wild hogs. They quit this haunt at night, to feed in the fields, near the village of Nicar, and that of Shiwengaon, etc.

"February 26th.—The number of distillers' shops is incredible. Mahrattas of all ranks drink immoderately; and so do the women. Even ladies of rank use spirituous liquors; but the women who fetch wood and grass from the forest are, most of all, addicted to intoxication. It is curious to see, of an evening, crowds of well-dressed women getting drunk at a distiller's door. There are 1,100 registered stills, and 1,300 registered courtesans, in Nágpúr.

"March 15th.—The Cherek pújá is here celebrated on the day of the Dóla-Yátrá, nearly in the same manner that it is in Bengal on the last day of the solar year. The resort of spectators was great. The crowds of carts, carrying women

and children from villages far and near, were a striking and unusual sight to one used to see the middle classes travel solely on foot. The Hólí has been celebrated here with no remarkable ceremonies different from Bengal or Hindustan.

"The Vasantí Déví Pújá is opened by raising a flag (some put a brass pot on a bamboo), in commemoration of Ráma having here, or near this, hoisted his standard with the army of apes, preparatory to his invasion of Lanka.

"Some keep a very strict fast during all the nine days preceding the Ráma Navamí; the Raja, for example, who is a very strict and regular Hindu, punctually observing and practising all the superstitions of the religion. The fast is so strict that nothing is eaten; only water or sherbet is drunk during nine successive days.[1]

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"May 11th.—Having mislaid this note-book for a month past, I have omitted to mark some occurrences I intended to set down. I must endeavour to recall them, and note them as recollection enables me.

"About a month ago, a leopard made his appearance in a betel vineyard, two or three miles from the town near Vincajee's garden. He was immediately surrounded by nets. The Court went out, saw him driven into a cage, and brought away the prisoner in triumph. The cage was put on a cart, which was conducted immediately before the Amárí elephant, on which sat Raghoo and his brother, coming home in great state. As the procession passed, a Jasoos's report to Raghoo, that I had been enquiring about the success of his sport, made him send the leopard to my bungalow. Four camels brought home the nets.

"This day Bagajee Pundit, Jenardher Pandit, and Jeswant Ráo, came, on the part of Śrídhar Pandit, to invite

[1] I have omitted a short memorandum relating to an eclipse of the moon, which took place on the ninth of April. The times and altitudes are given, but the cloudiness of the weather prevented an exact observation.

Mr. T., Capt. L., and myself to his wedding. The ceremony of invitation consists in putting rice (*acshata*), coloured with turmeric, etc., into the hand of the invited guest.

"The Góndwána Raja, as the chief Musalmán of the place, waited on Raghoo the other day, in form, to receive a Khelat upon his going to the Edgáh[1] to have the usual prayers recited upon that festival.

"The Raja, laying the foundation of a shed he ordered to be built for war-rockets, near the artillery-park, by way of a freak, proposed to his attendant to assist in beginning the building. He and his courtiers immediately began collecting stones and laying them; each brought and laid a few, and the foundation of a very humble building was thus laid by the auspicious hands of the princes and of his courtiers.

"He has now gone out on a short excursion, which has no other ostensible object but to eat melons on the spot where they are grown. The other day he went to view a Páegáh (city stable, but meaning a body of cavalry, the horses of which belong to the State). Here, from the cavalry being mounted on mares, they are establishments for breeding, also. He has not been tiger-hunting so often this year as last.

"January, 1801.—My notes have long remained neglected. Wanting leisure and inclination to keep them regularly, I must mark a few words, to remind me, at need, of topics deserving recollection.

"Last month a young man, an oilman by profession, was going to be buried alive, on account of the leprosy. Mr. T. persuaded him to remain above ground, and to take medicines. (Mr. T. will relate the adventure at large). On this and on another occasion, while I was at Purnea, where a Fakír caused himself to be buried alive, salt was the chief article of preparatives. The man had grown desperate by being sepa-

[1] Edgáh, or Eed-gáh, a place of festival or prayer. The term is applied to buildings erected for the celebration of the Eeds or festivals, of which there are several in the Muhammedan Calendar.

rated from his family on account of the leprosy he is afflicted with. It is, besides, a notion, that, when one of a family dies of a leprosy, his disease seizes some one of his surviving relations; but this is obviated, if he cause himself to be buried alive. Another motive for this voluntary death is to obtain obsequies, which are not legal for one who dies a leper;—not, at least, without ceremonies to remove the spiritual taint, and which ceremonies do not appear to be practised on such occasions.

"A few months ago, Candharáo's Coottas[1] exhibited to us the breaking of a chain. They fastened one end of a strong iron chain to a peg sunk in the ground. A log of wood was laid over the chain, close to the peg; some yellow dust was put on the apparatus, and distributed to bystanders. A little frankincense was burnt on the peg. The people played, and sang, and made contortions; and then one seized the loose end of the chain, and, after a trial or two, snapped the chain by a hard shake. They broke it with ease several times; the last time it seemed to be a more difficult task. The sleight seems to consist in giving a long shake instead of short jerks. These people form a singular body, dependent on a temple not far from Púna."

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The journal concludes with a slight reference to the origin of these devotees, and to the practise of suicide under religious vows, which prevailed in the country south of Nágpúr. Both subjects are treated more fully in the following paper.

Many of the particulars which are given by Mr. Colebrooke concerning Muhammadan and Hindu ascetics, especially the latter, have been more fully described in later publications. The Kánúni Islám, a popular account of the customs of the Muhammedans of India, translated by Herklots, a medical officer in the Madras establishment, gives a short account of the different orders of fakírs, the method of initiation, and the arts and tricks resorted to by many of the fraternities. Some notice of the char-

[1] Dogs of Candharáo, as explained in the paper on ascetics, which follows this.

acteristic differences of the various sects of Hindus is added by Mr. Colebrooke to his second essay on the religious ceremonies of the Hindus (Mis. Essays, i. p. 196). He there points out the different branches of these orders as representing the votaries of Śiva, Vishńu, and Śacti or divine energy. Other orders exist devoted to other deities of the Hindu Pantheon; but the three here named vastly preponderate in numbers. For an enlarged account of these various sects, the reader is referred to Professor H. H. Wilson's well-known Essay (Collected Works, vol. I.).

ON INDIAN ASCETICS.

"Ascetics of various orders, both Hindu and Musalmán, are more numerous in Nágpúr than in any other town or city that has been visited by me; and here, as in other large towns, the Muhammadan fakírs form a community which is governed by its own laws, administered by its own officers. The *Sirgiróh*, or head of the community, exercises jurisdiction over all fakírs within the precincts of the town, whether inhabitants of it, or sojourners, or travellers. He is assisted by a *Cotwál* and other officers, nominated by himself, and is attended by *Chobdárs*, who, as well as the officers of the community, are all fakírs. The fourteen orders of Muhammedan ascetics are all obedient to the same *Sirgiróh*, whatever be the order to which he belongs. However, the *A'záds*,[1] who are deemed superior to the rest, because they have devoted themselves to celibacy, yield unwilling obedience to a chief selected from a different order; and the enthusiasts of every description, affecting mental alienation and supernatural power, do not seem to be held amenable even to spiritual jurisdiction. They are far more numerous in the Dekhin than in Hindustan.

[1] *A'zad*, solitary. The following short description of this class of ascetics is taken from the Kánúni Islám. "They shave their beards, whiskers, mustachios, eyebrows, and eyelashes, in short, the hair in every part of the body, and lead lives of celibacy. They have no inclination for reading prayers daily. If they get anything to eat and drink, be it good or bad, they partake of it. They have no fixed abode; the generality of them travel, and subsist on alms.'

"The jurisdiction of the *Sirgiróh* extends to the maintenance of religious discipline. He presides at all general meetings of *fakirs* within his limits, whether assembled for the cognizance of offences, or for the consideration of any matters of common concern, or for an entertainment given to them by devout persons. This is not unfrequent. The *fakirs* are assembled by previous notice; food is distributed amongst them; and sometimes money and tobacco, green hemp, opium, and various preparations of intoxicating drugs are profusely supplied during the sitting of the assembly. The use of such drugs is so far from being censured, that it is universal among *fakirs*; and they boast of the enormous quantity which some are able to consume with impunity, as a test of the holiness they have attained.

"The *fakirs*, especially the enthusiasts denominated *Mejzúb*[1] or *Meslán*, do not appear to be strict observers of the Muhammedan Láw; but, on the contrary, they hold themselves dispensed from the rigid observance of it. Some are known to indulge freely in the use of spirituous liquors; and I have been credibly informed that certain enthusiasts, while roaming the forests, which they affect to prefer to inhabited places, have eaten dead bodies. The enthusiasts, or, at least, the admirers of their austerities, pretend that supernatural power is acquired by mortification and religious meditations. They sit for whole days and nights without change of posture, profoundly meditating their holy visions. They acknowledge that, to have such visions it is necessary to observe rigid abstemiousness; and the effects of this, together with solitude, aided, too, by intoxicating drugs, are sufficiently obvious. The legends which they preserve, by tradition, concerning their most celebrated saints, tend, also, to exalt a fervid imagination; and this is further assisted by the tenets which they maintain concerning the universal diffusion of the divine essence, and the identity of the universe and the deity.

"No wonder that many are seen in all the gradations of

[1] *Mejzúb*, abstracted.

mental aberration, from formal bigotry to mystical enthusiasm, and even absolute insanity. "God is everywhere, even in this dog," said an enthusiast, when asked why he made a cur his companion. "Do you ascribe divinity to a dog?" answered one[1] who affected not to apprehend his allusion to a mystical doctrine. "You do not understand this matter," replied the *fakir*. The same man, when reprehended for visiting my camp, after being warned to avoid it, made answer: "We are curs that hunt for offal, and resort wherever morsels are thrown to us."

"It is, certainly, a maxim with these ascetics, to abandon worldly concerns, and subsist on alms, practising mortification and austerity. Many, no doubt, are sincere and exact in observing the rules of their institution. Others are, as indubitably, impostors, adopting the religious profession for a livelihood, and practising the usual arts of hypocrisy, to render their profession lucrative.

"In the course of the inquiries, from the results of which these brief observations are drawn, I had reason to know that every order of *fakirs* has its pass-words, by which they are enabled to detect any pretender who might assume the dress and designation of the order without having been duly initiated. The initiation, which may be performed by any *fakir*, is said to consist in girding the pupil with a leather thong, administering to him the cup, making known to him the pass-words, and communicating a few maxims for his guidance. Such among these maxims as enjoin contentment with whatever alms are given, and humility towards all men, are as ill-observed by these as by ascetics of other religions.[2]

"Before I speak of Hindu ascetics, I must remark that *fakirs*

[1] Captain Lennox.

[2] The ceremonies are shortly described in the Kánúni Islám. The *fakirs* of Hindustan are ranged under fourteen households, which are supposed to have originated with four *Pírs* or saints. The votary applies to a *fakir* of one of these households, and declares his faith in the *Pír* to which it belongs. The ceremony consists in an entertainment, and presents, according to the means of the disciple, the recitation of prayers, and instruction in the names of all the *Pírs* in the household,

are required, by the institutes of the profession, to retire to their bed, as to a cell, at the dusk of the evening. One order, however, solicits alms by the light of lamps. *Fakirs* of this order are often seen walking the streets with lamps in their hands. Another practice, which is frequent among all *fakirs* (that of naming the specific sum or thing which they require), is abused by some, especially by one order among them, to the length of extorting what they demand, by assuming a painful posture, which they will not quit until their demand has been granted. The instance of one who remained for several years, near Cánhpúr, buried up to the chest in the ground, until the sum which he required was contributed by a battalion of native Infantry in the British service, is notorious, and renders it unnecessary for me to cite less conspicuous instances.[1]

from the foundation of the order. The list of these saints, which is handed over to the disciple, is regarded with superstitious reverence. The ceremony is concluded by handing a cup of sherbet, over which some prayers have been uttered. The instructor blows on the cup, and drinks a few mouthfuls; it is then finished by the disciple, with every appearance of reverence. The instructor proceeds to reveal, in a whisper, "all the secret mysteries of godliness."

[1] A paper by Sir John Shore, "On some extraordinary Facts, Customs, and Practices of the Hindus," which appeared in an early volume of the Asiatic Researches, gives a short account of the practice called Dherna. To this Mr. Colebrooke added some manuscript notes on the margin, in illustration of facts mentioned above. The practice of Dherna, it is well known, is resorted to as a means of recovering a debt, and is recognized by Hindu lawyers as a legitimate mode of enforcing a just demand. The Brahmin who resorts to it sits at the man's door and fasts; and the party against whom the claim is made, is bound by etiquette to fast also. This is the orthodox mode of procedure; but it is needless to add that it is often employed as a mode of enforcing irregular demands; and Sir J. Shore proceeds to describe a practice followed by some Brahmins in Calcutta, of extorting charity or subsistence by posting themselves before the doors of Hindus, threatening to remain till their demands were complied with. Mr. Colebrooke subjoins the following remarks:—"Musalmán fakírs also practise the same method of extorting alms; and these demands are, frequently, exorbitant. It is most prevalent among the sect named [ ]. The religious of this sect, I am told, will die sooner than recede from a demand which they have formally made. In one instance, which occurred at my own door, at Mirzapur, in 1797, the man belonged to another sect. He has several wives whom he maintains by this practice.. His demand was a horse and 1000 rupees. He fixed the colour and breed of the horse he required. He stood a fortnight on one leg, resting his arms on a cross bamboo. Finding no prospect of succeeding, he departed, when tired of his posture."

"The severe discipline to which Hindu ascetics submit, and the excruciating torments which they voluntarily inflict on themselves, have been repeatedly noticed by every traveller.

"I shall here confine myself to a brief account of the different orders. The first is that of *Brahmachárís*, who bind themselves for life to the strict observance of the very austere discipline which the law imposes on students of theology and sacred literature. In their practice they seem to hold the austerities as more essential than the studies with which this discipline is connected. Many of them appear to be wholly illiterate.

"The second is that of hermits, who make their abodes in forests and deserts. This order appears to have been numerous in ancient times. But few belonging to it are now found. The third is that of *Sannyásís* or *Yatis*.[1] The maxims of discipline and of doctrine, intended for this and the last-mentioned order of ascetics, form no small part of the religious institutes of the Hindus, but do not seem to be much studied,or very strictly observed, by modern *Sannyásís*. These are, mostly, perhaps universally, mere mendicants, illiterate and dissolute. Many of them follow the profession of arms; other practise robbery for their subsistence.

"It appears that the regular system of the Hindu religion established many gradations, through which the ascetic passed, in the progress of his initiation, to the highest order of devotion. From some of these, probably,[2] have been borrowed

[1] The distinction between ascetic and hermit is pointed out in a note to Mr. Colebrooke's translation to the Mitácsharà (Chap. II. sect. 6): "The term ascetic is, in this translation, used for the *yati*, or *sannyási*; and "hermit," or "anchoret," for *vánaprast'ha*. In former translations, as in the version of Menu by Sir W. Jones, the two last terms were applied severally to the two orders of devotion." The following passage from Menu explains the sense attached to the term *sannyási* in old times. I quote from Jones's translation. "Having thus performed religious acts in a forest during the third portion of his life, let him become a *Sannyási* for the fourth portion of it, abandoning all sensual affections, and wholly reposing on the Supreme Being" (Manu, vi. 33).

[2] Reference is here made to the division of the life of a twice-born man into four periods—that of study, that of householder or active liver, that of a hermit,

the orders of *Yógi* and *Bairági*, or contemplative recluse and dispassionate ascetic. But many of the modern *Yógis* are only mendicants; and among the *Bairágis* are included several sects which are deemed heretical by orthodox Hindus. Other sects, also, which are considered heterodox (by the learned, at least,) are common throughout India. The most remarkable among these heretical ascetics are those called *Nágas;* they are naked mendicants, and very commonly follow the profession of arms.

"The *Gósáins* or *Goswámis* more generally engage in commerce. The ten branches of this order, which are distinguished by fanciful names, as *Gir* and *Pervet* (a mountain), and *Puri* (a city), claim for their founder the most learned among the commentators on the philosophy of the Véds.[1] Yet these *Gósáins* are, with few exceptions, grossly illiterate, not even possessing the knowledge of accounts, which is requisite for conducting the extensive trade in which they embark. Some of them, like the *Sannyásis* and *Nágas*, adopt the military profession.[2] Himmet Behádur, a conspicuous character

and lastly, a life of abstraction or contemplation. We have here the germ of that monastic system which has spread throughout Asia. It may be superfluous to add that, among modern ascetics, it is not a portion but the whole life that is usually devoted to the rules or practices of the order, and that the membership is not confined to privileged classes. In the great majority of these orders there is a complete obliteration of the distinction of castes. The influence now exercised by the monastic orders is intimately connected with the decline of Brahminism and of the old religious practises. The date of the rise of these sects is uncertain, and probably some of them are very ancient. Their great multiplication belongs to comparatively modern times.

[1] S'ancara Achárya. The few particulars that are known regarding the life of this remarkable man, who exercised such influence on the religious history of India, are collected by Professor Wilson, in his Essay on the Religious Sects of the Hindus (Collected Works. Vol. I., p. 197). It is to be regretted that so much obscurity rests as to the time when he flourished, connected as it is with an important epoch which witnessed a vehement struggle against Buddhism and the remodelling of the Hindu system. Dates have been assumed varying from the seventh to the tenth century of our era.

[2] Hordes of armed devotees figured conspicuously in the troublous times which preceded the rise of British power. Professor Wilson, in his account of the *Nágas*, mentions an attack which was made by a band of them, several hundreds in number, on the British force under Goddard, during their passage through

of the present day, and the associate of Ali Behádur's conquests in Bundelcund, is himself a *Gosáin*, though he bear the title of Rájá.

"The obligation of celibacy, in this and other orders, which may be termed monastic, is not absolute and irrevocable. A *Gosáin*, willing to relinquish the honours which superstition attaches, very unmeritedly, to his celibacy, may espouse a wife; and the practice is so far common as to have introduced an established distinction between the orders of married and unmarried *Gosáins*. The children of married *Gosáins* inherit their property; but the heirs of the unmarried are the pupils whom they bought in their infancy and initiate into the order. Women, too, are admitted in other religious orders, as well *Hindu* as *Muslemán*. *Yogins*, *Bairágins*, and *Fakirnis* are daily seen in every part of India; some, the wives of men belonging to such orders; others, impelled by superstition to

Bundelcund, in 1778. He refers to Pennant's Hindustan. According to this writer, Bundelcund swarmed with them. He says that they assembled in numbers of ten and twelve thousand, under the pretence of pilgrimages, laid whole countries under contribution, and were guilty of every enormity. Bands of Gosáins gave some employment to our troops, at an early period, on the Assam frontier. In Central India they sold their services to native princes, and, on one occasion, rendered important service to Scindia in suppressing an insurrection. More frequently, rival sects waged war with each other, when they met at a place of pilgrimage. The author of the *Dabistán* mentions two occasions in which these conflicts took place, and adds that the Sannyásis were frequently seen engaged in war (Shea's translation, Vol. ii., pp. 197 and 231). Hurdwar was a frequent scene of these conflicts. One of those related in the *Dabistán* occurred at Hurdwar in the year 1640 of our era. The facts connected with a more formidable conflict are related by Raper, in his account of the survey of the Ganges, in 1807 (Asiatic Researches, vol. xi.) It commenced with a private quarrel between two leaders, and ended in a struggle in which the Gosáins are said to have destroyed 18,000 of their adversaries, and established a superiority at these periodical assemblages, which lasted till the end of the century. A curious account is given by Captain Hardwicke of the insolent bearing of this order, during his visit to the fair in 1796. They assumed an authority over the vast multitude (exceeding two millions, according to Captain Hardwicke's estimate), regulated the police, and collected dues in the name of the Mahratta government; their Mahants determining cases of complaint. The Gosáins swaggered through the Melá, allowing no other sect to carry arms, until the arrival of some Seik chiefs, who brought with them twelve or fourteen thousand horsemen, established an independent authority, and, in the end, attacked and chased away the Gosáins (Asiatic Researches, vol. vi.).

adopt religious austerity. At the tomb of a Muhammedan Saint, about thirty miles from Nágpúr (that of Sháh Feríd), resides a lady of noble birth, who has assumed the dress and manners of a *Fakirni*, and has employed the residue of her fortune in embellishing the buildings that belong to the tomb. She thus atones, as I was informed, for the dissoluteness of her past conduct.

"Ascetics of every order, and of both religions, are much respected by the superstitious Hindus and Muslems. It is everywhere common, and in the *Dekhin* especially, to see alms given, or endowments granted, by Hindus to Muhammedan *Fakirs*, or by Muslems to Indian *Yógis*. The veneration in which they are held, and the respect with which they are treated, has produced no small degree of spiritual pride.

"Charity was often solicited from us by children who exhibited no appearances of poverty. We remarked that their foreheads were coloured with powder of turmeric, and that each bore a pouch made of leopard's hide, in which he deposited the alms he received, and in which he carried a provision of yellow powder. Grown persons, bearing similar pouches, were frequently seen; and, upon inquiry, the account given of their origin, the designation by which they are known, and the mode of their livelihood, were found to be equally strange.

"It appears, that, in the Mahratta dominions, childless persons frequently vow to consecrate the firstborn, should they obtain the blessing of progeny, to the service of a temple of Candharáo, near Púna. Such vows are so often made with success, that more children have been devoted to that temple, and educated for its service, than suffices for attendance on the idol, or than its endowment is adequate to maintain. Many, therefore, among the dogs of Candharáo (for so they are called), roam about the country, gaining a livelihood by the exhibition of a feat of strength, in the breaking of a strong iron chain.

"We had the curiosity to see this exhibition. After some

mummery, and much antic gesture, with rude music and singing, in the course of which they seemed to animate themselves, by violent motion, to an enthusiatic pitch, one seized the loose end of the chain, which was made fast to the ground at the other extremity, and with a single jerk he broke a middle link. We thought that a weak link had been purposely placed there, and we, for this reason, carefully examined the chain with which the exhibition was several times repeated, but could perceive no flaw ; and the last time, the link—that was broken with rather more difficulty, however, than before,—appeared to be really strong. Meantime, several of my own servants repeatedly tried to break the chain, but without success. As the men who exhibited this feat seemed by no means athletic, nor so strong as the bystanders, who were unable to perform the same task, it doubtless requires dexterity in the manner of exerting force to break the chain. But the exhibition is not so striking as to have become a means of livelihood without superstition on the part of spectators, who consider these people as religious mendicants.

"In the provinces contiguous to Nágpúr, mountaineers and others belonging to very low tribes, have recourse to a much less innocent vow, namely that of suicide, to obtain boons from their gods. The successful votary fulfils his vow by casting himself down a precipice, which is named, from the deity to whom it is sacred, Cálbhairo. It is situated in the mountains south of the Nerbadá, towards Deogerh. At this place a vast concourse of people assemble, every year, on the appointed day,[1] to view the fulfilment of such vows ; and we were confidently assured that each year brings five or six suicides to Cálbhairo.

"We conversed with one of them, a few days before he departed from Nágpúr upon this errand. He was a native of Amerávetí, but came to Nágpúr to proceed thence with the annual caravan of suicides and of spectators. Each day, during his stay in that capital, he walked the streets of the

[1] The new moon of Phálgun.

town, dressed in a fantastic manner, and preceded by drums. His object was to collect alms, wherewith to pay his musicians, and to make an oblation to the idol (a rude stone, as we were told), near the edge of the precipice. The vow which he was now about to fulfil had been made, by him, ten years before, when anxious for the safety of a beloved sister, who was missing. She was found by him within a few hours; and the recollection of his vow was lost, until a fit of sickness refreshed his memory. He then thought himself haunted for the breach of his vow, and resolved on fulfilling it in the present season. The man seemed, while he talked with us, in full possession of his natural faculties, impressed, however, with the awe of impending dissolution. He had in his hand a cocoa-nut, which he kept in continual motion; and he cheerfully explained to us the purpose of dashing it against the sacred stone or idol, the moment before he should plunge off the rock. After leaving my house he sat for a while, listening to the songs of his attendants; when, suddenly starting up, he made violent contortions for a few minutes, and then sank into a trance, overcome by the fatigue of his exertions, or, as the bystanders were willing to believe, by the offended goddess who haunted him.

"I could not learn that Hindu priests have any share in promoting this superstition. The persons who conduct the ceremonies performed at Cálbhairo, and take the spoils of the suicides, after viewing the bodies at the foot of the precipice, are said to be mountaineers. All the Brahmins whom I consulted agreed in affirming that no trace of this practice can be found in their books; nor has it been ever adopted by people belonging to the higher tribes of Hindus.

"A practice, even more repugnant to humanity, prevails at the island of Ságar, at the mouth of the Ganges; and that, too, is, in like manner, discountenanced by the Brahmins, and confined to the lower tribes of the people. In consequence of superstitious vows, children are there thrown into the sea,

to be devoured by sharks; and grown persons cast themselves into the water, to perish by the same means.[1]

"If the Brahmins have refrained from taking part in the superstitions of Cálbhairo and Ságar, they have not shewn equal forbearance in other instances. That they countenance widows burning with their husbands' corpse, and men drowning themselves at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuná is sufficiently known. Instances are not rare of persons cutting their own throats before the image of Bhawání, at the temples of Vindhyavásiní, near Mirzapur.[2]

"Various other modes of suicide are also countenanced, especially when used by professed devotees, who pretend to have secured the reunion of their souls with the divine essence, and accelerate their beatitude by a voluntary death. This is denominated *Samád'h;* and the term is often, but improperly, applied to any religious suicide; even to that of a diseased person causing himself to be buried alive. Leprosy is the disease which most frequently impels the wretched sufferer to seek relief of his misery in the grave.

"During my stay at Nágpúr, an unhappy leper was rescued from an untimely death by the gentlemen of the Residency. In consequence of their expressing a wish to see the ceremonies of a widow burning herself on her husband's funeral pile, one

[1] The practice was suppressed by the Government in 1802. The preamble to the Act states that it was found, on enquiry, not to have the sanction ofthe Hindu law, nor to be countenanced by the religious orders, nor by the people at large; but to be simply a prevalent custom arising from superstitious vows; and that it continued to prevail at other places on the Ganges, which are specified, at stated periods, viz., the full moons of November and January. The order of the Government was enforced with the greatest ease by the presence of a military guard.

[2] Vindhyavásiní, dweller in the Vindhya. This place, since Mr. Colebrooke wrote, acquired a horrible notoriety as the favourite resort of the Thugs, who placed unbounded confidence in the presiding goddess, until the apprehension and punishment of many of their gangs led them to suppose that they had fallen under her displeasure. See a short account of these miscreants by Professor H. H. Wilson in his History of British India, Vol. III. p. 297. He visited the temple in 1820, then frequented by the ruffians of the western provinces. It presented, so the author writes, an extraordinary assemblage of most astrocious-looking vagabonds.

of our servants, who had been ordered to watch the recurrence of such an event, brought notice that a man was to be buried alive. Capt. Lennox and Mr. Turnbull immediately repaired to the spot."

* * * * *

This narration, which breaks off thus abruptly, is, evidently, the same incident as that related above in Mr. Colebrooke's journal, when Dr. Turnbull prevailed on the unfortunate leper to refrain from self-murder, and try the effect of medicine. Mr. Colebrooke, in relating this incident to his sons, added that the doctor's advice met with the full approbation of the crowd who had assembled to witness the act of suicide, with one exception,—and that was the leper's wife.

CHAPTER VI. 1801-1807.

Establishment of the Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut—Professorship of Sanscrit and Hindu Law—Sanscrit Grammar—Correspondence—Inscriptions.

Mr. Colebrooke, on his return to Mirzapore, was not kept long in suspense as to the intentions of the Government regarding him. He was shortly summoned to Calcutta, to fill the high office which rumour had already assigned to him. At this period of Indian administration the appellate jurisdiction in Bengal and Behar rested with provincial courts, scattered through these provinces. A further appeal lay to the Supreme Council, consisting of the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and two members of the Civil Service, not required to be selected on account of their judicial reputation. It followed that the executive and legislative functions of the Government occupied their attention, to the neglect of this branch; and the registrar of the court, a member of the service very inferior in position to the presiding members, became charged with the duty of preparing the decrees, and, in many cases, of guiding the Court. The accumulation of arrears which ensued was the least of the evils which resulted from such a system, and the greatest credit is due to Lord Wellesley for the very necessary reform which was introduced by the establishment of a Superior Court of Appeal, well known by the title which it long bore, of the Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut. Mr. Colebrooke became one of its first members, and, four years later, was placed at its head. His long labours on the bench formed a contribution to legal

science as important, at the time, as his compilations and translations from Sanscrit authors; as the decisions of the Court were, from this date, embodied in reports on all important cases. He now became a diligent and enthusiastic student of the civil law; and this will be found to have influenced him materially in his subsequent legal labours.

On his arrival in Calcutta his Vedic studies were interrupted by the honorary appointment which he received at the hands of Lord Wellesley, as professor of Sanscrit at the College, recently established at Fort William. The aim of this institution was to remedy the serious deficiencies in the education of the members of the Civil Service at this period. The Governor-General's minute recommending the establishment states that writers were usually sent out between sixteen and eighteen years of age, that their education was imperfect, and in many cases limited to commercial training, as if they were intended for this branch of the service only, or that their relations were in a hurry to get rid of them. The charge was certainly well founded, and though this institution, which was ushered in with great pomp, was not long maintained on its original scale, the necessity of maintaining some standards of qualification, and of subjecting the young writers to a special training, was at once recognised by the Government at home. Whatever opinion may be formed of the value of the College as a place of instruction, the impulse which it gave to Oriental studies at the time is unquestioned; but more, perhaps, on the part of the professors than of the students.[1] To add dignity to the new institution the most eminent scholars were invited to co-operate, by accepting honorary appointments. Mr. Colebrooke was appointed to the Professorships of Hindu Law and Sanscrit.

[1] The influence of the College on Oriental philology is well shown in the list of works which were published under its patronage, and which will be found in the Appendix to Roebuck's Annals of the College of Fort William. It extends over twenty pages, and embraces nearly every important work bearing on the languages of the East, which were published in Calcutta from 1800 to 1819.

He delivered no oral instruction; but he acted, for some, time as examiner in the Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, and Sanscrit languages.

His acceptance of the latter appointment led to his resuming the intention announced in a letter, written so far back as 1797, of publishing a grammar of the language. He then proposed to denote the leisure of a year to this work. I find no trace of his having commenced the undertaking. But the essay on the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages, which appeared in 1801, shows how complete had been his survey, at this date, of this branch of Indian literature. To this he was impelled by his love of philology, and by his admiration of the structure of Sanscrit. Its power and flexibility was a frequent subject of conversation in after life; and it may be observed that in the above-named essay, which gave a general review of the ancient language and its connection with the modern dialects of India, he concludes with the promise of a more elaborate comparison. He remarks, "To these cursory observations might be fitly added a specimen of each language, and of the character in which it is written, together with a list of the most common terms in the various dialects of India, compared with words of similar sound and import in the ancient languages of Europe. I have, indeed, made collections for this purpose; but the insertion of a copious list would exceed the limits of a desultory essay. For this reason, and because the collection is yet incomplete, I suppress it."

Some of the collections referred to are still extant. The subject seems to have been taken up at intervals. One of the lists of words probably belongs to his earliest studies, and bears the water mark of 1796. The range of his comparison was wide; as it embraced not merely Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin with their derivatives, but the Germanic and Slavonic dialects. In one case (the word brother) it is carried through eighteen variations. There are about 120 words altogether in the list. His examination of variations of inflexions is confined to some

of the most obvious analogies of verbs in Sanscrit, and in the classic languages of Europe, and does not extend beyond twenty instances.

These desultory studies were thrown aside when he undertook his Sanscrit Grammar. It is difficult for one who pretends to no critical knowledge of the language to convey to the reader a due conception of the nature and importance of this elaborate undertaking; but it constitutes too important a portion of Mr. Colebrooke's labours to be passed over in this sketch of his life; and it commands a special interest, owing to the influence which the ancient grammatical system of India has had on the science of comparative philology. The work is founded on the rules of Páńini, the most ancient Hindu grammarian whose works have come down to us entire, and who was the exponent, if not the actual founder, of a system which has left traces on the literature of India, and is not without its influence on the linguistic studies of the present day.

Mr. Colebrooke's predecessors and fellow labourers, under the guidance of the pundits of Calcutta, had depended, in their early studies, on the popular treatises of Bengal, of which a brief notice is given in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay, and which formed the basis of Carey's Grammar. It is curious to observe that Sir W. Jones, in a short review of Sanscrit literature, in the first volume of the "Asiatic Researches," dismisses the work of Páńini with the slighting remark that it is "so abtruse as to require the lucubration of many years before it can be perfectly understood." Again, after quoting the remark, which a pundit addressed to Wilkins, that the work of Páńini was a forest, Sir William adds: "Since grammar is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path." "The best grammar," he adds, "is the Mugdhabodha, comprehending in two hundred short pages all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know." This is one of the popular grammars in repute in Bengal.

Sir William had reason afterwards to change his opinion for among the list of desiderata found in his papers after his death, "A grammar of the Sanscrit language from Páṅini, etc.," occupies a conspicuous place.[1]

It has been already mentioned, in referring to Mr. Colebrooke's early studies, how much he too was repelled by the forbidding character of Indian grammars. That he soon learnt to appreciate the importance of the ancient portion of this literature is apparent from the terms in which he referred to the work of the founder of the science, in his Essay in 1801. He describes it as founded on a profound investigation of the analogies in both the regular and the anomalous inflections of the language, combined in a very artificial manner, and compressing a very copious etymology into a very narrow compass. But the ingenuity which is employed in giving conciseness to the 3996 precepts of the work constitutes one of its most serious defects; for Mr. Colebrooke continues: "The studied brevity of the *Páṅiníya Sútras* renders them in the highest degree obscure. Even with the knowledge of the key to their interpretation, the student finds them ambiguous. In the application of them, when understoood, he discovers many seeming contradictions; and with every exertion of practised memory, he must experience the utmost difficulty in combining rules dispersed in apparent confusion through different portions of Páṅini's eight lectures. A commentary was, therefore, indispensably requisite." This is supplied by a voluminous work of standard authority, in which "almost every rule is examined at great length. All possible interpretations are proposed; and the true sense and import of the rule are deduced through a tedious train of argu-

[1] Among the manuscripts presented by Sir W. Jones to the Royal Society, is a copy of the Siddhánta Caumudí, a comparatively modern recension of the works of Páṅini and his immediate successors. It contains the following note in Sir William's handwriting, "I finished the attentive reading of this grammar by Pánini, Chatyana, and Patanjali, 18 Aug., 1792." To this study we may attribute his later appreciation of the ancient grammar.

ment, in which all foreseen objections are considered and refuted, and the wrong interpretations of the text, with all the arguments which can be invented to support them, are obviated or exploded."

Voluminous as this work was, it was far from exhausting the subject on which it treated. Its deficiencies were supplied by modern annotators, one of them—and the most celebrated—being nearly as copious as the commentary itself; and after this we are told that "the difficulty of combining the dispersed rules of grammar, to inflect any one verb or noun through all its variations, renders further aid necessary." These are supplied by vocabularies, and these again are followed by elaborate commentaries, which enter largely into scholastic refinements. Well might Mr. Colebrooke exclaim, "Such vast works as the *Mahábháshya* and its scholia, with the voluminous annotations on the catalogue of verbs, are not adapted for general instruction. A concise commentary must have been always requisite." That to which Mr. Colebrooke gives the palm, though described to be as succinct as was consistent with perspicuity, is still a voluminous work, and the commentary and annotations on the commentaries are still more so. But enough has been said to point out some of the characteristics of the literature which is embraced in his review. There are others and, in Mr. Colebrooke's opinion, excellent works, by Sanscrit grammarians; but the inherent tendency of the Indian mind to scholastic disputation affects, in his opinion, the writings of these grammarians, as much as those of their lawyers and sophists; and even the best works are far too vast and intricate for young students. The popular abridgements and treatises which have been composed to meet the wants of students, labour under defects of another kind, and throw the student back on the more elaborate works, against whose pedantry Mr. Colebrooke so feelingly protests.

It will appear strange that one who has described so forcibly the obscurity of the ancient oracles should have adopted their

system as his standard, when he prepared a grammar for future students. He does, indeed, point out the importance of this system, when he refers to the imperfection of modern works; but the terms employed scarcely prepare the reader for the high terms in which he refers to the old standards, in the Preface to his Grammar which appeared four years later.[1] It is a singular testimony to the accuracy as well as the completeness of this school of grammarians, that their labours have been valued in proportion as they have been studied by European students. Something, too, in Mr. Colebrooke's case may be attributed to the progress of his Vedic studies, which were proceeding *pari passu* with the preparation of his Grammar; since the knowledge of the technical rules of the early grammarians is essential, in Mr. Colebrooke's view, to one who relies on commentaries or scholia on works of poetry or science.[2]

Some of the peculiarities of this system are described in the following passage from the Essay of 1801:—"The outline of Pánini's arrangement is simple; but numerous exceptions and frequent digressions have involved it in much seeming confusion. The first two lectures (the first section, especially, which is in a manner the key of the whole grammar) contain definitions; in the three next are collected the affixes, by which verbs and nouns are inflected. Those which appertain to verbs occupy the third lecture; the fourth and fifth contain such as are affixed to nouns. The remaining three lectures treat of the changes which roots and affixes undergo in special cases, or by general rules of orthography, and which are all effected by the addition or by the substitution of one or more elements. The apparent simplicity of the design vanishes in the perplexity of the structure. The endless pursuit of ex-

[1] "The sacred grammar has been more cultivated, its agreement with ancient writings and clâssical authors has been more carefully verified than any other grammar of the language: it is more usually cited, and more generally understood; and, finally corrected by a long train of commentators, it is more accurate and complete."

[2] Misc. Essays, II. p. 15.

ceptions and of limitations so disjoins the general precepts, that the reader cannot keep in view their intended connexion and mutual relation. He wanders in an intricate maze, and the clew of the labyrinth is continually slipping from his hands."

The reader will perceive that the grammatical system here described deals only with one portion of the science, viz., the etymology of language, including, in that term, not merely the origin and derivation of words and their resolution into primitive roots, but the various modifications which the roots undergo in the structure of words. The relation of words to each other is only touched upon in illustration of the primary or secondary meaning of the words themselves. The syntax of language and its relation to logic and reasoning occupies a secondary place in this study. That the former branch of grammar should be so elaborate, while the other should be almost wholly neglected, is intelligible when we are informed that grammar itself received its impulse in India, as an adjunct to theology. The superstitious importance which was attached to a correct recitation of the Védas led to a minute analysis of language, of pronunciation, and of prosody.[1] Hence, among the six Vedangas, or treatises necessary for a

[1] "Language had become with the Hindus an object of wonder and meditation at a very early period. In the hymns of the Veda we meet with poetical and philosophical speculations on speech, and Sarasvatî, the goddess of speech, is invoked as one of the most powerful deities. The scientific interest in language, however, dates from a later period. It was called forth, no doubt, by the careful study of a sacred literature, which, in India, as elsewhere, called into life many an ancient science. In India the sacred strains of the Rishis were handed down with the greatest care, the knowledge of these songs constituted the only claim and hope of man for a higher life, and from a very early time they were looked upon with such a superstitious awe, that a mere error of pronunciation was supposed to mar their miraculous power. We need not wonder, therefore, that the minutest rules were laid down as to the pronunciation of these hymns, and that the thoughts of the early teachers were led to dwell on the nature of language and its grammatical organisation."—*Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 159. The close relation between grammar and theology was fully established in the time of Patanjali, the supposed author of one of the most ancient and the greatest of the commentators on the work of Pán'ini. "Throughout a great portion of his admirable introduction to Pán'ini, Patanjali endeavours to

Védic student, pronunciation, metre, grammar, and explanation of words occupy the first place. Astronomy and ceremonial complete the list. It is to be observed that the fourth, explanation of words (Niructa), is closely allied to grammar, as it deals largely with etymology.

It will be readily understood that, when such importance was attached to minute and literal accuracy, the study of the structure of words might become an elaborate science, and absorb the almost undivided attention of grammarians. Verbs and nouns were traced to their crude forms or roots, and the modifications of these roots are traced in every minutest part. One set of rules describe the affixes or augments, others point out the changes which the roots themselves undergo, either by the change of the final letter, or of the vowel sound, or by the interposition of other letters between the root and the affix. The modification of letters, also, in the juxtaposition of words in a sentence, becomes, in addition, an elaborate science.

If the object of grammar be to reduce, as far as language will admit of it, to general rules the changes which forms of speech undergo, this first object is not kept in view in such a system: the variation of letters, instead of being a secondary, acquires the first place, and we have examples of single rules which apply to different parts of speech, and half a dozen rules which are necessary to exhibit the inflection of a single word. Other difficulties belong to the Indian system, which need not be dwelt upon here, though they formed at one time most formidable obstacles to the study of the language, and are, even now, very imperfectly overcome in recent compilations; such as a peculiar nomenclature, requiring a considerable exercise of memory to master, but rendered unneces-

impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness. He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred texts; that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,—in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and correct use of words, and, as a consequence, on the study of Pán'ini."—*Goldstücker's Pániní*. p. 197.

sarily difficult and forbidding to the student by the use of a highly technical system of symbols, by which certain series of syllables in some cases, and in others single letters, guide the student to rules and inflections. Mr. Colebrooke did not attempt to relieve the student from the necessity of mastering these latter difficulties, beyond converting the obscure rules of the original into intelligible English. He evidently considered that a knowledge of the nomenclature of Sanscrit grammarians, which is very complete for its purpose, and of its technical devices, must be as essential to one who devotes himself to Indian literature, as a knowledge of the language and principles of European grammar is to a western student.

With these preliminary remarks as to the system, the character of the grammar which Mr. Colebrooke compiled from these materials will become intelligible. His aim was to bring together "the dispersed rules" applying to nouns, verbs, etc., and to arrange them in a scientific method suited to the natural course of intellectual study.[1] Thus the general rules which apply to the system, and constitute the key of the grammar, are placed in the commencement. Those relating to nouns and verbs follow in succession. The general rules relating to

[1] The reader will be able to judge of the nature of this task by an example. I quote an amusing illustration from the preface to Müller's Sanscrit Grammar. "The grammatical system of Hindu grammarians is so peculiar, that rules which we should group together, are scattered about in different parts of their manuals. We may have the general rule in the last, and the exceptions in the first book, and even then we are by no means certain that exceptions to these exceptions may not occur somewhere else. I shall give but one instance. There is a rule *jâgṛi*, which forms its Aorist by adding *isham*, *iḥ*, *it*. Here the simplest root would be that final *ṛi* before *isham* becomes *r* (Pan. vi. 1, 77). This, however, is prevented by another rule, which requires that final *ṛi* should take Guṇa before *isham* (Pan. vii. 3, 84). This would give us *ajâgar-isham*. But now comes another general rule (Pan. vii. 2, 1), which prescribes Vṛiddhi of final vowels before *isham*, that is *ajâgârisham*. Against this change, however, a new rule is cited (Pan. vii. 3, 85), and this secures for *jâgṛi* a special exception from Vṛiddhi, and leaves its base again as *jâgar*. As soon as the base has been changed to *jâgar*, it falls under a new rule (Pan. vii. 2, 3), and is forced to take Vṛiddhi until this rule is again nullified by Pan. vii. 2, 4, which does not allow Vṛiddhi in an Aorist that takes intermediate *i* like *ajâgarisham*. There is an exception, however to this rule also, for bases with short *a*, beginning and ending with a consonant, may optionally take Vṛiddhi (Pan. vii. 2, 7). This option is afterwards

verbs occupy about fifty pages, and must be traversed before we can apply them to a single conjugation. But even to reduce this cumbrous system to this amount of regularity it was necessary to draw from all parts of the ancient work.[1]

The following concise summary of the grammatical system of ancient India is taken from an early chapter in Mr. Colebrooke's grammar, and will serve to illustrate the preceding remarks:

"The roots of the Sanscrit language are crude verbs (*d'hátu*), and perhaps particles (*nipáta*). All nouns, without exception, say some grammarians, or with few, according to others, may be deduced by rules of etymology from some crude verb, although the acceptation frequently deviate from the etymology. The *d'hátus*, or crude verbs, are contained in a catalogue, at the head of which is placed *b'hú*, 'to be.' These and their derivatives, (or any significant sound, however derived,) being inflected with the signs of persons and cases, are denominated words (*pada*).

"Prepositions are enumerated in a list, at the head of which stands *pra*. They are employed, like prepositions in other languages, to form compound verbs by prefixing them to *d'hátus*, and also in composition with nouns. Other particles, which might be called interjections, conjunctions, and adverbs, are placed in a separate list *avyáya*, wherein the first term is *cha*, 'and.' These are indeclinable, and so are certain nouns contained in a catalogue, wherein *swar*, 'heaven,' is the first term.

restricted, and roots with short *a*, beginning with a consonant and ending in *r*, like *jágar*, have no option left, but are restricted afresh to Vṛiddhi (Pan. vii. 2, 2). However, even this is not yet the final result. Our base *jágar* is after all not to take Vṛiddhi, and hence a new special rule (Pan. vii. 2, 5), settles the point by granting to *jágṛi* a special exception from Vṛiddhi, and thereby establishing its Guṇa. No wonder that these manifold changes and chances in the formation of the First Aorist of *jágṛi* should have inspired a grammarian, who celebrates them in the following couplet: Guṇa, Vṛiddhi, Guṇa, Vṛiddhi, prohibition, option, again Vṛiddhi and then exception—these with the change of *ṛi* into a semivowel in the first instance are the nine results."

[1] A copy of the grammar in my possession, with Mr. Colebrooke's manuscript notes, gives, in the important chapters, the marginal references to the Sections of Pân'ini.

The indeclinables are nevertheless 'words' within the terms of definition; for the affixes are understood, a blank having been substituted for them, without affecting the radical term.

"Crude nouns are denominated *prátipadica;* for this is defined 'a significant sound not yet inflected, but other than a crude verb.' Pronouns, being subject to special rules, are distinguished by the appellation of *sarvanáma*, or universal names.[1] Adjectives need not be distinguished otherwise than as nouns signifying qualities and inflected in three genders. These nouns, whether substantives, adjectives, or pronouns, are declined through three numbers with seven cases.

"Verbs, whether simple or compound, radical or derivative, are conjugated through the active and passive voices, and some through a middle voice also, in ten moods and tenses, with three persons and three numbers. The derivative verbs are causals, desideratives, frequentatives, or intensives, etc.,[2] derived immediately from verbs, besides denominatives, or nouns conjugated for certain significations.

"From the verbs are derived nouns, which correspond to the infinitives, participles, gerunds and supines, of other languages; besides nouns of action, etc. The terminations that distinguish such derivatives are called *kṛit*, and the derivatives themselves *kṛidantah*. A few are indeclinable, but most are inflected."[3]

[1] This appellation, according to Max Müller (Grammar, p. 132), means merely a class of names beginning with *sarva*. The list, it is to be observed, includes not pronouns only, but other words which share in similar peculiarities of inflection.

[2] I have followed here some marginal alterations by Mr. Colebrooke.

[3] Bopp, in his Comparative Grammar (Eastwick's Translation, p. 1166), complains that Mr. Colebrooke follows too strictly the rules of Pánini in classing the infinitives and gerunds with the "aptotes" or indeclinables, and that he overlooks their relation to case-terminations. Bopp's remark serves as an introduction to one of the most curious passages in his book, on the formation of the infinitive mood; the termination of which, in Sanscrit, corresponds with the Latin supine, and is regarded by him as the instrumental case of nouns; this he endeavours to trace to the Vedic dialect. This theory, if confirmed, will throw light on the history of language; but we cannot wonder that these refined views should have been overlooked by Indian grammarians, whose aim was so much more limited.

This sketch concludes with the description of the derivatives of nouns, such as patronymics, ect., and compound terms.

Objections will readily occur to this arrangement. The forced assumption by which nouns are derived from verbal roots, the definitions of words, the classification of pronouns with certain adjectives and even numerals, on account of their being subject to similar rules of inflection, and the reference of infinitives to the list of nouns are opposed to European views, but were of secondary importance in a science, the principal aim of which was to reduce to rule all syllabic and literal changes.

The remaining sections of this chapter are devoted to some essential rules which are necessary to unlock the meaning of concise and obscure aphorisms; but they would be quite unintelligible without a commentary or examples. The note with which the chapter concludes describes so pointedly the peculiarities of the system, that it deserves attention in illustration of Mr. Colebrooke's metaphor of the labyrinth in which unfortunate students were liable to be entangled.

"It is necessary to observe, in regard to the original rules of grammar as arranged in Páńini's eight lectures, that the order in which they are placed is essential to the understanding of them; for terms contained in preceding rules are often understood in those which follow (as in the rule cited by way of example in the last paragraph); and a subsequent rule, inconsistent with a former one of equal scope, is in general an exception to it; though sometimes the preference must be given to that rule which best answers the purpose.

"Another instance of the use of this arrangement must be also noticed. A precept, contained in the three last sections of Páńini's eighth lecture, is, as it were, null, so far as regards a preceding one; and, consequently, does not prevent the operation of a preceding rule, which would have been otherwise applicable; nor give it effect, if it were not applicable previously to the operation of such subsequent precept.

"In the application of rules of grammar, various difficulties

occur, for which no provision has been made by Páṅini, Cátyáyana, and Patanjali, whose works, the *Sútras*, *Várticas*, and *Bháshya*, constitute the grammar of the language. Here recourse must be had to the maxims, *paribháshá*, of other authorities. These maxims must be, therefore, considered as a fourth portion of the grammar; and the most important of them will be cited as occasion may occur.

"Some difficulties still remain; and the commentators meet them by various expedients: among others, by that of rendering many rules vague and indefinite in their application. As the rules and maxims are very obscure, the glosses of the numerous commentators are, for this reason likewise, necessarily consulted; they also serve for the correction of each other. The approved practice of good authors is, in fact, the test of grammar: and the rules, emendations, expositions, maxims, and glosses are employed merely to teach what established usage sanctions."

In spite of the intricacy of this singular system, the reader cannot fail to be struck by the comprehensiveness of the treatment of the subject, the more so when it is considered at how early a period the science was fully developed.[1] The

[1] In these remarks I have assumed that the grammar of India is of independent origin, and that the science was studied at a remote age, preceding, perhaps, by several centuries the Christian era. The direct evidence which can be adduced in support of this opinion is imperfect, and partakes of the obscurity which hangs over so much of the literary history of India. The traces of this early cultivation, which are given in Max Müller's Sanscrit Literature, leave no doubt that it belongs to an early stage of the classic Indian literature. Any attempt to fix a precise date for the writings of either Páṅini or his immediate successors opens a wide field of controversy. Dr. Goldstücker, in discarding the direct and legendary evidence, founds an elaborate and somewhat obscure argument on the internal evidence afforded by the writings themselves. The facts adduced by him serve chiefly to determine the age of Páṅini *relatively* to other ancient writings. But they heighten the presumption, founded on other gronnds, as to the antiquity of this author, and tend to show that the old grammatical literature extends over a considerable period. Indian tradition should not, however, be overlooked. Even the legend which is narrated by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang, who visited India in the seventh century, and who had studied the ancient grammar, has its value, as showing that in his day Páṅini was regarded as the father of grammar, and his existence was referred to a fabulous age. I think, too, that weight should be allowed to the Brahminical tradition, contained in a work of the twelfth century of our era, which describes Kátyáyana, the annotator on Páṅini, as living in the

completeness of the analysis of the language has, indeed, maintained the authority of the ancient authors, and prevented their being superseded by improved methods. Other merits, too, belong to it, which European students are not slow to recognize; conspicuous among which is the resolution of all words into primitive forms, and the founding the whole system of grammar upon such analysis.

It is to be observed, however, that the root is not arrived at by rules of etymology, by which a word is resolved into one or more simple forms, each having a definite meaning. It is a crude form, to which the composite form is adapted to suit the rules of inflection. As the grammar is based on this system, so also are the dictionaries or vocabularies. The lists of verbs being classified according to their conjugations, with their indicatory letters attached or interwoven, affording a key to the subsequent modifications they may undergo; the grammar and dictionary thus forming part of an harmonious system.

reign of a sovereign who preceded Chandragupta, the contemporary of Seleucus. But the work in which the notice occurs is a collection of popular stories, and of no historical value. The glimmering of light we derive from this connecting link with Greek chronology bears on a question of higher moment—whether India derived any portion of its grammatical science from Greece. Reinaud (Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 88) considers that the date of Páńini cannot be carried further back than the first century of our era, when the influence of Greek literature in India was shown in the dramatic pieces composed at that time. This theory of Greek influence is strengthened, in his opinion, by the reference to the writing of the Yavanas (Yavanánilipi) in Páńini's grammar. Another and more important reference to the Yavanas is to be found in Patanjali's commentary on Páńini, quoted by Dr. Goldstücker in his essay on the age of Páńini. The expression that *the Yavana besieged the Mádhyamikas*, a sect of Buddhists, gives an approximative date for the work in which the reference is found, and is assigned by him to the second century B.C. This reference to contemporary or preceding events, in which the Bactrian Greeks figure, certainly favours the views of those who contend that the early Indian grammarians lived at a time when they might have been open to Greek influence, and it is barely possible that this may have been the case with regard to grammar. On the other hand, the internal proofs of originality afforded by the works of Indian writers are so strong that they should overweigh any presumption which can be raised from a possible communication with the west. The distinctive character of the two systems is forcibly described by Max Müller, in his Sanscrit Literature (p. 158). In this passage, which is too long to quote, he traces the origin of the grammar of the Greeks to their philosophy and to the study of the categories of thought and speech. In contrast with this stands the science of the Hindus, a singular monument of minute and skilful analysis.

In presenting his work to the public he accompanied it with a modest expression of hope that he had done something to render the ancient grammarians intelligible to modern students.

"The arrangement of the sacred grammar," he says, "is ill-adapted to facilitate study; both in the original work, and in the numerous illustrations of it. But I thought it practicable to frame a grammar upon the same system, which should be easily intelligible to the English student of Sanscrit. Without believing that I have succeeded, I still think it to be practicable; and the difficulties which may be experienced in the following pages will, in general, be found owing merely to the want of examples, which have been omitted, under the apprehension of rendering the work too voluminous."

It must be added that the work failed to accomplish its aim—that of rendering the approach to literature easy to the student. Mr. Colebrooke seems to have measured the zeal and abilities of students by his own high standard. Having reduced, as he hoped, to some method, the obscure, dispersed, and, what appeared in some cases, contradictory rules, which caused him to wander in an intricate labyrinth, he regarded all other labour as light in comparison. The absence of examples constituted the most serious objection to the work, as an elementary one; and there was something in the system which could not admit of the simplicity of arrangement at which he aimed.

It must be admitted that he did not receive much encouragement, even from Sanscrit scholars, to resume his labours. The grammar of Wilkins, which appeared in 1808, is better adapted for the use of beginners; as the rules follow, as far as the subject will admit of it, the method in use by European grammarians. It therefore superseded, in a great measure, the works of his predecessors, in popular estimation. If I may judge from a review of the progress of oriental literature by A. Von Schlegel, which appeared some years later, and a summary of which was laid before the Asiatic Society in 1821, from the pen of Mr. H. H. Wilson, the popular judgment was confirmed by later

students. The grammars, which then amounted to four, were passed in review. Referring to that of Mr. Colebrooke as unfinished, he adds that it might be allowed to remain so, as it could be of very little value to the student, owing to its defective typography, the superabundance of rules, and the absence of examples and illustrations. To Wilkins he justly assigns the palm of "having succeeded in converting the algebra of Sanscrit grammar into plainer arithmetic." But when he turns to the works of native grammarians, with Páńini at their head, we find him commenting upon them in the same disparaging tone which has been noted in the case of Mr. Colebrooke's work. "Their books," he says, "are utterly useless to the European student; the methods they follow are very singular and peculiar, and the style in which they are written is exceedingly difficult. No means have been employed to remedy their defects." Like Sir William Jones, Schlegel lived to modify these disparaging remarks. When Bopp, in the first edition of his Sanscrit grammar, hazarded the remark that the student might arrive at a critical knowledge of Sanscrit by an attentive study of the grammars of Forster and Wilkins, without referring to native authorities, A. Von Schlegel was one of the first to challenge these views.[1] It is needless to add how deeply Bopp drew from the fountain head of Indian grammar in his subsequent labours. Indeed, the value of these writings is now fully recognized by European

[1] "M. Bopp, dans la préface de l'édition allemande de sa grammaire, congédie formellement les grammairiens nationaux du sanscrit; il soutient qu' après ce qui en a été extrait déjà, ils ne peuvent plus rien nous apprendre. C'est une grande erreur, je n'hésite pas à le dire. Je pense, au contraire, que pour marcher d'un pas assuré dans la critique des textes, il faut être suffisamment initié dans le système des principaux grammariens indiens, pour savoir les consulter au besoin. M. Colebrooke l' a pensé de même: c'est après ses ordres que deux ouvrages importans, les *Aphorismes* de Pânini, avec un extrait des commentaries, et la *Siddhânta Caumudî*, ont été imprimés à Calcutta."—Reflexions sur l'étude des langues asiatiques, 1832, p. 34. The passage from which this quotation is given adds some just remarks on the precision, accuracy, and scientific spirit which distinguishes these writings, and gives a value to them in spite of their obscure and enigmatical style.

philologers. Mr. Colebrooke may be said to have been the first to appreciate their full importance,[1] and to attempt to render their works intelligible. After the publication of the first volume, he made some progress in the second; but two other grammars, by Carey and Forster, shortly appeared, and the students of the language were still so few as to discourage him from the completion of the work. He expressed his regret, in after life, at the incomplete state in which it appeared; for, in his opinion, it ought to be completed, and he confidently said that it would be ultimately finished. The prophecy has not been fulfilled literally, but it may be said to have been so in substance; for the authorities on whom Mr. Colebrooke relied, and whom he introduced to English students, are now fully recognized as the standards of this branch of Indian literature, and the importance of Mr. Colebrooke's contribution to this result are appreciated by later students.

I proceed to give some extracts from letters of this date such as throw light on Mr. Colebrooke's pursuits during

[1] The Jesuit Missionary, P. Pons, was certainly the first to appreciate the scientific excellence of the Indian grammar. The account which he gives of it in his letter on the literature of India, written in 1740, is very striking: "La grammaire des Brahmanes peut être mise au rang des plus belles sciences; jamais l'analyse et la synthèse ne furent plus heureusement employées que dans leurs ouvrages grammaticaux." . . . "Il est étonnant que l'esprit humain ait pu atteindre à la perfection de l'art, qui éclate dans ces grammaires; les auteurs y ont reduit par l'analyse la plus riche langue du monde, à un petit nombre d'élémens primitifs, qu' on peut regarder comme le caput mortuum de la langue. Ces élémens ne sont pas eux-mêmes d'aucun usage, ils ne signifient proprement rien, ils ont seulement rapport à une idée, par exemple Kru à l'idée d'action. Les élémens secondaires qui affectent le primitif, sont les terminaisons qui le fixent à être nom ou verbe, celles selon lesquelles il doit se décliner ou conjuguer un certain nombre de syllabes à placer entre l'élément primitif et les terminaisons, quelques propositions, etc. A l'approche des élémens secondaires le primitif change souvent de figure; Kru, par example, devient, selon ce qui lui est ajouté, Kar, Kar, Kri, Kir, Kir, etc. La synthèse réunit et combine tous ces élémens et en forme une variété infinie de termes d'usage." Father Pons compiled a grammar from original sources. It would be very interesting could this work be recovered, as it appears to have been founded on an abridgement of Páṅini. "Pania," he says, "composa un ouvrage immense des règles du Sanskret. Le roi Jamour le fit abréger par Kramadisvar; et c'est cette grammaire, dont j'ai fait l' abrégé, que j'envoyai, il y a deux ans, et qui vous aura sans doute été communiquée."

the first years of his residence in Calcutta. It may be here observed, with regard to Mr. Colebrooke's letters generally, that the passages quoted give all or nearly all that illustrates his thoughts or pursuits. Although he kept up a regular correspondence with his family, the allusions to matters of domestic interest are scanty, and so also are his references to public events. It is not to be supposed that he was a mere recluse, and indifferent to everything that did not bear on his favourite pursuits. He was a person of strong feelings and deep and lasting attachments; but the character of his mind was severe, and at no time of his life would he readily unbend to discuss matters of light or passing interest. This is more especially shown in his correspondence. They are like letters of business, and he rarely warms with his subject, except when discussing the works on which he was engaged.

"*Calcutta*, 16*th October*, 1801.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you since I last wrote; but have grounds (from a letter of Mr. Prinsep's) for thanking you with heartfelt gratitude for the exertions you are making in my favour. Without detracting from my grateful sense of your goodness, I must, however, entreat you to observe that a seat in Council, as a permanent one, is not now attainable for years to come; and, upon any other footing, it is not even desirable. In my present station, I am next under Council; were I advanced to it, the office I vacated would be filled up, and I should descend from my short-lived honours to a lower station than I now hold.

"By one of the ships of this season you will receive the 7th volume of the Asiatic Researches, which will not be the less acceptable to you for containing several essays of mine. I have continued the subject of religious ceremonies in two essays; but, from what I have seen in reviews on the subject of my first, I do not feel disposed to prosecute the subject

further at present. My chief literary occupation now is a Sanscrit Grammar, which is in the press. I undertook it because I accepted the Professorship of Sanscrit in the College, but do not choose to deliver oral instruction to the students; and I am expediting the publication, that this may be one of the valuable legacies of the College, if it do die the death to which the Court of Directors have condemned it.

"From the sarcasm which Lord Grenville threw out in a debate, I infer that the Directors are so much blamed for their conduct in this instance, that they will probably reconsider the matter. My compilation of Law is well advanced. I hope to publish it a couple of years hence, and shall be then able to turn my thoughts seriously towards Europe.

"I observe from the third report which the Court of Directors have published, that their minds are very greatly irritated. I have never seen anything so intemperate, so injudicious, so undignified, and unbecoming a great public body. It confirms me, however, in the opinion, that it would be very unsafe for me to publish the work on Husbandry and Commerce. I am, therefore, glad that I wrote so earnestly last season, requesting you to withhold it from the press.

"Though I have before mentioned the College, I must return to the subject, to mention that the institution has already given occasion to many valuable publications on the Oriental languages and literature; and the proficiency of many of the students is truly astonishing. It has been well remarked that it has called forth greater exertion of intellect in a short period than was ever before witnessed in a similar walk of science.

"In comparing this with other plans for instruction for the Company's servants, it should be always observed that if the College be attended with some expense, yet the gratuitous assistance also of eminent men is obtained under this institution; assistance which cannot be purchased, nor could be obtained in an institution of less dignity."

"*Calcutta, May* 30*th*.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I wrote by an overland despatch some weeks ago, under a pressing alarm, lest the favourable opinion you entertain of my works should induce your permitting the remarks on Agriculture and Commerce to be published. I hope you will forgive my writing at the same time to Mr. Prinsep, to prevent the publication, even if your scruples against publishing it should be removed. I am now, upon further consideration, still more strongly convinced that the publication could not be hazarded without involving me in great risk, from the resentment of a powerful faction. The question of Indian shipping is become a party question; and it is more than ever important to me not to be exposed to the shafts of malice. In my present situation, a very few years will suffice to permit my revisiting you; and I shall then be able to publish boldly whatever I can prepare that is fit for the public eye. Many considerations, besides the most forcible of all my wishes, that of seeing you and my dear mother, make me extremely anxious to return soon to England. I dread everything that might dash my hopes, at the moment when objects so great to me are almost within my grasp.

"To give you some notion of my present habits, after saying so much of distant views, I should mention, that the official duties of the station in which I am placed take up my time so completely, that my studies are almost entirely interrupted. I hope, however, that after a few months I shall be able to resume them. The interruption of them sits, I must confess, very uncomfortably upon me."

"*Decr*. 9*th*, 1802.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 1st May. I had already heard from Prinsep that you were exerting yourself in my favour, and I noticed the subject

when I wrote by the last packet. I cannot too strongly express my gratitude for your exertions; but I hope not to be nominated to a temporary seat in Council. There is not, indeed, much probability that I should be appointed at all; for I suppose my name not to be very popular with the Court of Directors in their present temper on the question of Indian shipping and private trade. Should this, however, not be a bar, still I fear there can be no vacancy for a permanent seat in Council, since it is not likely that Mr. Barlow should be confirmed in the post of Governor-General. If I were brought into Council for a few months, I should vacate my present office; and, on coming out of Council, be most probably thrust down into an office inferior to that which I now hold.

"My present income, including the allowances for the second Digest, enables me to save as much money as I could do out of the pay of a Member of Council. The greater increase would only counterbalance greater expense; and the higher station would make it necessary to have a larger fortune to retire upon; and, consequently, make it necessary to remain longer in India. If nothing untoward intervene, I shall be able to retire, four or five years hence, upon a fortune of about two thousand a year. I should not retire so soon from Council. All this is founded on the supposition of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut remaining on its present footing. But I should not be at all surprised at objections being made by the Directors to its present establishment. Should that be the case, my present sanguine expectations may be disappointed.

"The arrangements which have been made for the Indian shipping and private trade have been published here; they are not at all satisfactory. The points, which are essential, and which the Directors have so uniformly resisted, must be obtained, and others of no less importance must be also carried against the Directors. British India, a greater empire than any Emperor of Delhi reigned over, must not be governed on the narrow principles of commercial monopoly. It is in the

commerce of India that England must find the increasing opulence which may enable it to sustain another war against the gigantic power of the French Empire, and it should be only governed in the mode that will most strengthen Great Britain. I feel much inclination to prepare a small tract on the topics that this view of the subject has suggested to me; but I apprehend that the inclination must not be indulged at present."

"*October* 5, 1803.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I have just had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you, dated 10th April. The Flora Indica, which I had mentioned, and concerning which you inquire, is at a stand, so far as my share of the undertaking goes. The botanical part, which falls to Dr. Roxburgh's share, is in great forwardness. No engravings are intended, as these, with fuller descriptions, are in course of publication at home. My share of the design is the insertion of Oriental Synonyma, with criticisms on them. But I have not had time to work upon that subject for more than a twelvemonth past. For the same reason my narrative of the journey to Nagpoor remains unfinished, and no essays have been completed for the next volume of the Asiatic Researches. The Sanscrit Grammar, and the compilation of Law, both of which are matter of duty, advance but slowly. In short, continued labour, from morning until sunset, is insufficient for official duties; yet I am forced by circumstances, which I shall shortly advert to, by and by, to take upon myself the immediate task of editing the work which I have so long kept back. . . .

"To your enquiry concerning Professorships, I answer that neither I nor any of the Professors who hold high offices under Government have any salaries, nor were ever intended to have any attached to their duties in the College. Those only who have no other offices, and who devote their whole time to the

College, are paid for their labours. Should the College be abolished, or reduced in its extent, I shall gain exemption from much labour, and lose no emolument.

"I am much mortified by my mother's determination not to write to me. While grieving at my disappointment, I must remark that the reason assigned, whatever may be its propriety in the way of reproach, is not conclusive as an argument. For it does not follow, from want of time for writing frequent letters, that leisure for reading them must be equally wanting. What could not be written in many hours may be read in a few minutes. I perceive also that you complain of an interval of five months, from May to October. Now, May is the latest period of one season, and October the earliest of the next. A letter could not have been despatched in the interval by any usual channel of conveyance. While on this subject I must add that, since I have been in Calcutta, I have forwarded many letters from Edward and from Charles. If they have not reached their destination, the fault is in the conveyance.

"I have as good ground of hope, as before, that I shall have the means of revisiting Europe in 1806. Whether the renewal of war in Europe ought to make me change my intention will be more easily judged of when the time draws nearer than at present. I shall consult Mr. Prinsep on the expediency of investing money in a purchase of land during the war. Should you and Mr. P. advise, I mean to remit money towards the end of next year, and in the following one, with the view to the purchase of some *terra firma*. My project is either to invest in the English funds as much as will buy £25,000, 3 per cents., or to purchase an estate affording an equal income, and to leave the rest of my property in this country at Indian interest; so that the whole of my income may be between £2,000 and £2,500 a-year. I suppose that £2,000 a-year will always be sufficient for one who is merely careless in pecuniary matters, but has no expensive propensities.

"You must have seen, in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1802, extracts from the private edition of the work on Husbandry, etc., of Bengal. I shall write to Mr. Prinsep, requesting him to resort to any legal means of preventing further extracts being published in that or any other place. In the meantime I find it necessary to take steps to show that the publication of those extracts was unauthorised; which I cannot do by any so effectual means as printing here an edition in which the statistical part, and the whole of the information in the work, will be retained, and all the offensive portion of it be either softened or altogether omitted. I find myself under the necessity of immediately taking this step; though uncertain whether yourself or Mr. Prinsep may not have taken some different steps in consequence of the publication in the Register for 1802. His letters and yours have not touched upon the subject; and I cannot defer longer the measures necessary to protect myself from the piracies of periodical publications."

"If you see Mr. Wilkins, will you mention to him that I have succeeded in deciphering (with the help of Pundits) the inscription which Mr. W. examined and partly deciphered from a copy made by Mr. Murphy. I mean an inscription carried to Portugal, and there copied by Mr. Murphy. I have thoughts of publishing a translation of it. I am not surprised that Mr. Wilkins could not decipher the whole of it. I should not have succeeded better without help.

"Be so good as also mention to him that an inscription was found last year at Benares, which Wilford thinks to be more than 1800 years old. By degrees the History of India will be partly retrieved from such monuments."

The translation of the inscription referred to in the preceding letter was never published. The monument itself is mentioned in Mr. Colebrooke's paper on ancient inscriptions, published in 1807, and credit is assigned to Mr. Wilkins for having ascertained its date, scope, and the names which

it contained. The work of deciphering such monuments, though only casually alluded to in one of his letters, engaged much of his attention at different periods. He had given to the Asiatic Society, in 1801, the translation of the inscription on the pillar, at Delhi, called the Lát of Fírúz Shah, and in the ninth volume of their Transactions will be found the results of further labour in Calcutta. Inscriptions on copper-plates and stones had been sent to the Asiatic Society from different parts of India (some at Mr. Colebrooke's instance). He set at work a staff of pundits to aid in deciphering them. The work of translation was undertaken by himself. The remarks with which they were submitted to the Society are deserving of attention, even in the present day, when so much has been effected to determine the reigns of sovereigns or dynasties in the East. Nothing is more remarkable, in the ancient literature of India, than the pictures it gives of a race full of intellectual life and activity, ingenious in speculation, and fond of abstract science, but so destitute of any historical record as to their origin, government, and the revolutions they have undergone. The importance of any materials, however scanty, by which a system of chronology might be established, was so obvious, that any ancient monuments or inscriptions attracted the earliest attention of the learned. It will be observed that, with Mr. Colebrooke, their value consisted less in the aid they might afford in tracing the political history than the intellectual life of the people. It was as subservient to literary history, and as affording the means of determining the date of works of authors from casual allusions to princes or patrons, that he urged on the Society the study of such records.

"That the dynasties of princes who have reigned paramount in India, or the line of chieftains who have ruled over particular tracts, will be verified; or that the events of war, or the effects of policy, during a series of ages, will be developed; is an expectation which I neither entertain or wish to

excite. But the state of manners, and the prevalence of particular doctrines, at different periods, may be deduced from a diligent perusal of the writings of authors whose age is ascertained; and the contrast of different results, for various and distant periods, may furnish a distinct ontline of the progress of opinions. A brief history of the nation itself, rather than of its government, will be thus sketched; but if unable to revive the memory of great political events, we may, at least, be content to know what has been the state of arts, of sciences, of manners, in remote ages among this very ancient and early civilized people; and to learn what has been the succession of doctrines, religious and philosophical, which have prevailed in a nation ingenious yet prone to superstition."

"*2nd March,* 1804.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"Under separate covers I have sent the journals which bring down to the end of January the published details of recent transactions in this country. The enclosed continues the series to the end of last month. Unless it should become necessary to protect the territories of the Allies from the depredations of Holkar, there is now a prospect of peace in India, by land at least; and there is little to apprehend by sea but French privateers. These we must be content to expect, since no navy could be sufficient to protect an extensive commerce on seas so wide as those of India.

"I wish we could receive as satisfactory intelligence from your quarter of the globe as that which we now send you. Our latest accounts are of the 30th September. The next month seemed to be the one destined by Bonaparte for a desperate attempt, which has, I hope, ended in his utter discomfiture and disgrace. This topic, being uppermost in one's mind, naturally presents itself in speaking and in writing. My last letter to you (despatched overland) hardly touched on any other. I will detain you no longer on it."

2nd March, 1804.

" . . . . I have nearly completed for the Asiatic Researches a treatise on the *Védas.* It had been my intention to let the eighth volume be published without any contribution of mine; but particular circumstances have induced me to finish a paper or two for the present volume, though compelled to suspend the progress of other works which I was anxious to bring to a close. Among others, the corrected edition of the Treatise on Husbandry suffers by the interruption.

"I have lately obtained a considerable addition of authentic and important information on the religion and mythology of the Buddhists. Everything relative to a religion, which has spread even more widely than the Christian or the Mahommedan faiths, is particularly interesting. I shall employ the first moment of leisure I can spare to publish this curious information, which will elucidate the accounts before obtained in China, Japan, Siam, Pegu, Ceylon, and Tibet. Captain Wilford, whose writings in the Asiatic Researches are known to you, has also prosecuted the same subject with considerable success, and will soon publish his lucubrations on that and on the long-expected theme of the British Isles as known to the Hindus. You will find in his treatises on those subjects very curious matter, but very little conviction."

"*March* 24, 1805.

"Appreciating so justly as you do Lord Wellesley's merits as a statesman, you will regret, on that account, as well as for the common and obvious reasons, the turn the war with Holkar took, and the disappointments (attended with such dreadful loss) recently experienced in the siege of his infatuated ally's capitol, Bhurtpur). A concurrence of circumstances which could not well be apprehended, has converted into an arduous warfare a contest which should have been expected to be early concluded. I do not yet see a near prospect of an early close to it.

"Our friend Garstin set off last week to join the army, and assist in the siege, if required. There are at present rumours of a negociation with the Raja of Bhurtpur, and, if terms can be adjusted, the further effusion of blood may be happily spared.

"You will see, in Lord Wellesley's continuation of his remarks on the Mahratta war, or rather in an appendix to the former work, which goes home in the Belle packet, the detail of circumstances which led to hostilities with Holkar. His demands were as insolent as extravagant. Lord Wellesley is, of course, detained with us by this war. I should sincerely wish, as you do, that he might remain indefinitely; but you have rightly judged the reason which renders it improbable he should do so. The unfriendly disposition of the Court of Directors renders it irksome, and, without the strongest support from the Administration, unsafe.

"I am grateful for the steps you have taken, in consequence of what I wrote on the subject of a seat in Council. I remain precisely in the same sentiments; not ambitious of a further rise, but content, if it be offered, to accept it. To speak truly, I have had a sufficient peep behind the curtain, within a few years past, to know the hollow ground I should tread on if raised to the highest station in this service. I would not desire it, were it accessible to me, which I certainly think it will never be; and a seat in the Council, with no ulterior views, is not to be coveted by one holding already the highest station under Council.

"I hoped to have sent you, by the present ship, the eighth volume of Asiatic Researches, with the volume wanted to complete your set; but the press has been so slow, it is yet unfinished. You will find in it a long essay on the Védas written by me, besides one or two minor ones on other subjects. I imagine that relating to the Védas will be thought curious; but, like the rest of my publications, little interesting to the general reader."

"*Calcutta, 3rd August,* 1805.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I at one time thought that I was arrived at the highest post I could look for or desire in this service; but a change in the constitution of the Court, to which I belong, having been determined upon more than a twelvemonth ago, has been recently carried into effect; and places me in name, as I was before in fact, at the head of the Court.

"I am glad to owe to Lord Wellesley this further obligation. I have taken the occasion (at the moment of receiving a small increase to my salary as Chief Judge) to resign the personal allowance, which I held for my labours on Hindu law, but which, I thought myself, had been received long enough. The diminution of my income by this change is about £1,000 a-year.

"I hope to remain in my present situation for two years more, and at the end of that time to revisit Europe, not, indeed, with quite so much as you hint to be desirable, but with what I hope will enable me to live contented at home. I have no expectation, I feel no desire, to be appointed to Council. I can say, that, if at any time there has been a spark of ambition within me, it is totally extinguished. While so much ignorance and such strong prejudices prevail at home, on all matters relative to India, no reflecting person can desire to occupy a conspicuous situation; or, being placed in one of responsibility, could act with confidence, conformably with just views of policy and good government.

"I cannot but sincerely regret, independently of personal attachment and respect towards Lord Wellesley, that he has not been suffered to remain one or two months longer, which would have sufficed to complete his important plans; for indeed nothing remained to be done, but to allow former measures to take their full effect. I regret it on my own country's account.

"This whole settlement, with scarcely an individual ex-

ception, seem to unite in the same feeling, as is strongly shewn by the general and zealous concurrence in a manly address, which was voted to Lord Wellesley last Monday. Without taking any part, the settlement express in a plain manner their sense of his public virtues and eminent services. You will readily infer, from my praising it, that I had no share in the composition of the address.

"Lord Wellesley having quitted the chair of this Government, I confess I feel a good deal of regret at being under the necessity of remaining here under a different administration. I do not apprehend that I shall personally experience anything from the change; but yet I cannot help this feeling. In such a disposition you may suppose I am much gratified by Lord Wellesley promising to become my guest during the latter days of his stay here, until the ship, which is to convey him to Europe, is ready for his reception."

"*August* 20*th*, 1805.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"Your letter by the Walpole reached me precisely as the Hope Packet was finally despatched, and too late to answer it by that opportunity. I had received the preceding day a letter from Mr. Prinsep, to which I had just time to reply. I beg you will be convinced, that I am fully sensible how much I owe to the kindness and zeal which induced you to pass over my request, more than once made in former letters, that no solicitation should be offered in my behalf; and I entreat you to believe that I am not wanting in gratitude and a due sense of your affectionate anxiety, when I express a regret that any letter was written to Lord Castlereagh, and when I earnestly beg that no application be again made.

"I endeavoured in my former letters to convey to you distinctly my sentiments on the subject. I declared, and very sincerely, that I did not desire a seat in Council; that a nomination to it was less than indifferent to me; and that

I would barely not refuse what I would not on any account should be solicited for me. I assigned some, but I could not, in the compass of a letter, assign all the reasons for my notions on this point. I really feel some disinclination to the promotion in question. Besides which, I think that any solicitation on my part is unbecoming my situation. It is not easy for another person to place himself in the train of thinking of the party interested; and it is still more difficult for any one to describe his own ideas of his own situation, without egotism and apparent vanity. But, for the purpose of briefly shewing that no other can judge for me, in this instance, I would wish to hint that, being placed at the head of an important judicial department, in which I ought to be, in feeling as in fact, independent of the Executive Government here and at home, I am the last person who should solicit a favour, or for whom any should be asked,

"I might add, as a reason for not setting forth pretensions on my part without previous concert with me, that many of the arguments used in your letter to Lord Castlereagh are founded on some mistakes committed by those from whom you received your intelligence. For an instance, Mr. Macklew's information, that I was the author of the address of the British inhabitants to Lord Wellesley, was erroneous; and though you have not believed my former contradiction of the information which you received respecting my appointment to Rajshahi, yet the whole of it was a mistake. The revenue had not fallen off, nor was I sent to retrieve it; nor did the district alluded to come under my charge; but a different one, to which the name was transferred. What Lord Cornwallis said on the occasion was, as I have before declared to you, a mere compliment, which seems to have been misunderstood. I will not give you the pain of weighing on the other points which are touched upon in your letter, and in which there are similar mistakes; I only wish to impress you with the idea that a claim on any one's part should be previously concerted

with him; and that circumstances regarding him cannot be safely alleged on his behalf without information received from himself on the subject of them.

"I hope, therefore, that, whether convinced or not by these arguments (for I cannot give you all my reasons at full length), you will acquiesce in my renewed request upon a matter which exclusively concerns me; and that you will, therefore, not make the further application for my promotion which you expressed the intention of making to the next Chairman of the Court of Directors.

"I will not quit the subject without repeating the declaration, that I feel how much I owe to the zeal and paternal affection which dictated steps the renewal of which I deprecate.

"I am, your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

"*22nd October*, 1805.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"The Medusa, now on the point of sailing, may probably convey to England the earliest intelligence of the demise of Lord Cornwallis. I conclude, from the temper of mind of those who sent him to India, where his days have been thus shortened, that considerable apprehension will be excited in England by this event, and with as little reason as there was for the alarm which occasioned the sending him hither. On the contrary, it may be hoped that the measures of the temporary Government which succeeds him may be more suitable to the actual situation of affairs here than I judge Lord Cornwallis's would have been. At the same time, the Government will be as respectable in the eyes of native Princes, while the high reputation of Lord Lake contributes to its dignity. It is, indeed, fortunate that Lord Lake had not already retired, as he would doubtless have done in a few weeks more, in consequence of a supersession to which military etiquette will not allow an officer to submit.

"It appears not unlikely that Government and the Company may confirm Sir G. Barlow in the station to which he has succeeded, especially if they wait to see the course of his measures for a few months. At all events, I fear you might feel disposed, in the expectation of it, to renew your application to the heads of the Board of Control and Court of Directors, if I were to suppress my thoughts on the subject. I had written to you very fully on it, in a letter intended for the Howe frigate, but which accident prevented my forwarding by that opportunity. I enclose it, that you may see exactly what were then my sentiments. I shall only add that they are unaltered, and that I sincerely hope you will acquiesce in my request that no application may be made in my behalf. I quit this subject with the hope of not returning to it.

"Apropos of English law, I must defend my commissioning the continuation of the statutes at large. If you recollect that all the magistrates under the control of the Court in which I preside are Justices of the Peace; that all British subjects residing out of Calcutta are amenable to the Courts subordinate to mine, in civil suits, to a limited amount; that all other Europeans, and descendants of Europeans, are wholly amenable to our Courts, both civil and criminal; and, in short, that we have to administer English, French, and Dutch Law, as well as Hindu and Mohammedan; you will not be surprised that I am provided with books of reference in the English and Civil Law. I think you would not object to the commission in question, if you saw my law library, containing a motley collection, from the *Corpus Juris* to the attorney's *vade mecum*.

"I shall send some books and some unfinished publications by the ships which are to sail in the middle of next month. You will receive, according to a wish expressed, I believe, in a late letter not now at hand, so much of the Sanscrit Grammar as is finished; the press proceeds so slowly that two or three years more may elapse before it is completed.

"The Flora has never been printed. It was not intended to be published with engravings. The plants noticed in it are described at length, and six plates of them given in a publication long ago begun under the patronage of the Company, from Dr. Roxburgh's communications, but yet unfinished, or rather very little advanced. My share of the intended Flora remains incomplete,—I have the materials ready, but no leisure to arrange them. I thank you for your offer of the *Edinburgh Review*. I receive it regularly with my annual supplies of books. I have information that the best authors who contributed to the early numbers have ceased to write for it. I perceive that it has declined in excellence, and I anticipate its cessation.

"I purpose to write to my mother, but, in case I should be prevented, I beg to be mentioned most affectionately.

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

27th June.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I have seen in the newspaper an account of the monument which Lady Jones has caused to be erected for her late husband. That account would certainly seem to imply that Sir William compiled and translated *the* Digest.[1] I should suppose, however, that the design of the monument regards the translation of Menu. Lady Jones would surely not choose for the subject of the monument what cannot be claimed for him, when so many indisputable subjects presented themselves. By the by, the compilation of the Digest does no credit to the compiler; for the arrangement is not good. As for the other point you mention, the use of a translation by Wilkins, with-

[1] This is a mistake of the newspaper. The inscription on the monument by Flaxman, erected at Oxford by Lady Jones to the memory of her husband, is given in Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones. It contains no allusion to the Digest or Menu, nor, indeed, any special mention of any one of her husband's writings.

out acknowledgment, I can bear testimony that Sir William Jones's own labours in Menu sufficed without the aid of a translation. He had carried an interlineary Latin version through all the difficult chapters; he had read the original three times through, and he had carefully studied the commentaries. This I know, because it appears clearly so from the copies of Menu and his commentators which Sir William used, and which I have seen. I must think that he paid a sufficient compliment to Wilkins, when he said, that without his aid he should never have learned Sanscrit (Preface to Sacontala). I observe with regret a growing disposition, here and in England, to depreciate Sir William Jones's merits. It has not hitherto shown itself beyond private circles and conversation. Should the same disposition be manifested in print, I shall think myself bound to bear public testimony to his attainments in Sanscrit. . . . .

"We have not yet heard who is to be nominated provisional successor to a seat in Council. I understand Mr. Taylor, of the Board of Trade, to be the person who appeared to stand the best chance when the last accounts came away. As I do not learn that I have been named as a candidate, I conclude that my letters, expressing a disinclination to be nominated to fill a temporary vacancy, may have been received. My present situation is so high and so honourable a one, that I still feel no solicitude for another step, the more especially as I do not aspire to the highest post, to which the door seems again opened by the example of Barlow's nomination to it. A seat in Council could be no object of ambition to me, unless as a step to a still higher situation; but this I do not wish for, but on the contrary.

"On examining my accounts I find my fortune is improving rapidly. I am, therefore, confident of being enabled to revisit England as soon as I have completed my present task of a Sanscrit Grammar and a second digest of Hindu Law. I still estimate about three years for the completion of these tasks.

"The latest intelligence from Europe seems to make the renewal of war appear a likely event. In either case it is fortunate that Lord Wellesley has pursued his great designs to the consolidation of the Indian Empire. No probable events could now enable the French to shake our power in India, either by force or by intrigue. Would there was as little to apprehend from the restless disposition of the French in other quarters.

"Your most dutiful son,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

"*Calcutta, June 9th.*

"It will perhaps give you pleasure to know that the Asiatic Society has done me the honour of electing me its President. The office imposes on me the duty of endeavouring to promote scientific researches. I shall do so, as far as I am able; and I hope to succeed in stimulating the exertions of those who are best able to forward that object, and in obtaining some requisite aid from Government.

"A catalogue raisonné of all that is extant in Asiatic Literature has been long desired. The utility of such a work would be obvious; and I believe the compilation of it will be now undertaken in good earnest.

"We hope to give you shortly a 9th Volume of Researches. It is half finished. It will contain a dissertation or two by me—one on the Sect of Jina, which I think will be found curious, and perhaps another on astronomical subjects.

"I make but slow progress with Hindu law. The supplementary digest is ready, as far as the compilation of the work goes, but the translation is not so far advanced as I could wish. I am very anxious to complete it, but frequent interruptions prevent my getting on. You ask me in a late letter whether Sir W. Jones did compile the Hindu digest in the manner stated by Lord Teignmouth. I have not Lord Teignmouth's work at hand, but certainly Sir W. Jones

cannot be said to have compiled the work himself. He concerted with the Pundits employed by him the subjects to which the compilation was to be restricted: the authorities, which were to be used. That was as much as he had undertaken to do; the rest was done by Jagunnath and his assistants under Sir W. Jones's directions.

"I shall send you by one of the Indiamen, which will sail in August, a copy of the first volume of the Grammar. I believe I mentioned that I have stopped that work. You will see my reasons for it in the preface, to which I must add, as the most cogent one, want of time.

"As you sometimes see Mr. Wilkins, who was the inventor of printing with Bengal and Nagree types, you would perhaps gratify him if you mention that a printing press has been recently established by natives to print Sanscrit books on their own account. The types have been considerably improved for the purpose, under my directions; for, as you may easily suppose, the press has been established on encouragement from me. I shall send a specimen to Mr. Wilkins by the first opportunity."

"14*th September*.

"I am thinking of fixing a final limit to the works to be executed by me during the remainder of my stay in India; I wish to restrict myself for the sake of having it in my power to quit India at the close of next year. You do not give me much encouragement to think I shall find I have enough. I feel, however, much inclination to try whether I should not be comfortable with a moderate income and ample leisure for study. You certainly guess right, that my library engages me greatly, and will continue to do so. I build chiefly on that for the employment of my time after retiring from public business.

"I hope to send you by the fleet, which will sail in the cold season, the 9th Volume of the Asiatic Researches. I have inserted three essays in it, and may possibly add more. One

relates to the Sect of Jina, which is very similar to the Sect of Buddh, established in all the east of Asia, and has been often confounded with it. The second is on the Indian and Arabic divisions of the Zodiac. The third is on the Frankincense of the Ancients, which I have reason to think that I have here discovered.

"I am curious to know what judgment is passed on the 8th Vol. of the Researches. On my former contributions to that publication I was pretty much indifferent; but I cannot say that I am so much so to my treatise on the Védas. If it be as little noticed as the rest, it will occasion me some disappointment; for it is the result of very laborious study.

"Among the works of different persons, which I have had some share in forwarding, I am at present anxiously promoting a very grand undertaking, which, if executed (and the means are in our power), will reflect credit on the nation. It is no less than the compilation of practically useful vocabularies of all the languages spoken in India, including the countries bordering on Persia, and those which intervene between Hindustan and China.[1]

[1] Mr. Colebrooke describes the result of this attempt in a note which he appended to the Baron William Von Humboldt's Essay on the Affinities of Oriental Languages, in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. The compilation was placed in the library of the East India Company, and the Baron takes notice of it in his essay. Mr. Colebrooke remarks on it as follows:—

"The work to which allusion is made by Baron William de Humboldt, in the passage where I am named, was undertaken by me in furtherance of the views developed by Sir James Mackintosh. I thought that a more copious comparative vocabulary than he had proposed would be practically useful; and would be instructive in more points of view than he had contemplated. Accordingly, at my instance, a Sanscrit Vocabulary and a Persian one were printed with blank half-pages, and distributed among gentlemen whose situations were considered to afford the opportunity of having the blank column filled up by competent persons, with a vocabulary of a provincial language. Vocabularies of the same vernacular tongue, by a Pandit or a Munshi, would serve to correct materially, and complete the information sought from them. Very few answers, however, were received: indeed, scarcely any, except from Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. The compilation to which Baron de Humboldt refers, comprises as many as I succeeded in collecting."

From a cursory examination of these volumes, it appears that the vocabulary of the Amera Cosha was taken as the standard of comparison, and the parallel columns deal successively with twelve titles, including dialects of the Punjab and of the Deccan.

"Sir J. Mackintosh, who has instituted a literary society at Bombay, has proposed the compilation of small vocabularies, as comparative specimens of the dialects in the British territories in India. This would only serve to gratify curiosity. The other scheme, which had been previously proposed, would be attended with great utility, as the projected vocabularies will give as much knowledge of most of the dialects as there is occasion for in practice. I hope to be able to tell you, when I next write, that the scheme will be carried into effect.

"I have not, in my late letters, touched on politics. Never was it a less pleasant subject than at present.

"You have perceived that I had not judged rightly when I expressed a hope that a fair trial should be given to the person who had succeeded to the chief management of affairs. The result has not been at all answerable to the expectations which dictated that wish.

"I am, your most dutiful son,

"H. Colebrooke."

CHAPTER VII.

Essay on the Vedas—Indian Astronomy.

The dates of some of the letters in the preceding chapter are uncertain, and they are arranged in the order to which, from internal evidence, they seem to belong. They bring Mr. Colebrooke's correspondence down to the year 1807, when he became President of the Asiatic Society. The file in my possession here abruptly closes; and, though his father's death did not take place till two years later, none of the letters written during that period have been preserved, and few are extant of a later date which are of service for the purposes of a biography. Sir George Colebrooke was proud of his son, and took a deep interest in his public and literary reputation; and Mr. Colebrooke wrote to him more fully on these subjects than in any subsequent correspondence with members of his family which has been preserved.

It is much to be regretted that we are deprived of this aid at the most interesting period of his literary career, when he was at the zenith of his reputation, and engaged in researches with which his name is so intimately associated. They were carried on, it is well known, in the midst of onerous public duties. It is mentioned, in a letter quoted in a preceding page, that they were at one time so absorbing that he was obliged to throw all literary labour aside. Friends who knew him at Mirzapore and at Calcutta informed me that his work in Court was generally very heavy, occupying the whole busi-

ness hours of the day. With a mind of so vigorous a cast, change of study was relaxation; and as every available hour was devoted to his favourite pursuits, he was able to produce at this time some of the most abstruse of his works. The Sanscrit Grammar and the Essay on the Védas appeared in 1805; and from that time he devoted himself with assiduity to his study of the Astronomy of the Hindus. The first of his papers on this subject, that on the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac, appeared in 1807; and although the more elaborate paper on the precession of the equinoxes and motions of the planets was not published till 1816, the manuscripts which he left behind render it probable that the materials for the latter essay were collected several years earlier.[1]

A brief review of Mr. Colebrooke's labours at this period, from the pen of the late Professor Wilson, and referring chiefly to his controversy with Mr. Bentley on the subject of the Indian Astronomy, will properly find a place here. It was prepared for the memoir which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society after Mr. Colebrooke's death,—being a fragment only of what Mr. Wilson had originally in view.

"The Essay on the Védas, announced in a preceding page as nearly completed, was published in the eighth volume of the Researches, and constituted the first authentic account of those ancient works. It must have been a work of great labour, and could have been executed at any time by no one except himself, as, independently of the knowledge of Sanscrit which it demanded, the possession of the books themselves was not within the reach of any European, save one whose position commanded the respect, and whose character conciliated the confidence, of the Brahmans. It was also an advantage to be situated, as Mr. Colebrooke was, at Mirza-

[1] They will be referred to in a subsequent page. The most interesting of these documents, consisting of notes and calculations relating to Indian astronomy, bear the water-mark of 1808.

poor, where the chief part of the materials for the Essay were collected and translated, as that was at an easy distance from Benares, whence perhaps alone, at least in Upper India, competent assistance could be derived. The Essay was published in 1805, and is still[1] the only authority available for information respecting the oldest and most important religious writings of the Hindús.

"Mr. Colebrooke also observes, in the same letter, that he had collected, at the same period, information regarding Buddhism, and this no doubt facilitated the preparation of a paper on the Jains, who are often confounded, as he observes, with the Buddhists, and have some notions in common with them. This was published in the ninth volume of the Researches; and in it he confirmed, or corrected from Sanscrit writings, the information gained by others from personal inquiry or observation. The same volume contained another important paper, to which it is the more necessary to advert, as it treated of the only subject on which his authority was ever disputed, and on which, after long forbearance, he thought it necessary to vindicate his opinions,—the Astronomy of the Hindús.

"In the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, published in 1807, appears a paper by Mr. Colebrooke, on the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac, giving the results of an inquiry which, as he states, had been at intervals relinquished and resumed. The astronomy of the Hindús had, as might be expected from the tenour of his studies and tone of his mind, been always a favourite topic with him; and on this occasion, as on a subsequent one in the twelfth volume of the Researches, he displayed a profound acquaintance with the writings of Hindú astronomers, as well as with the principles of the science. On this branch of Mr. Colebrooke's labours may be most seasonably used the expressions of a scholar, in like manner qualified by high Sanscrit and mathematical attainments to pronounce an opinion. In the notice of Mr.

[1] This was written in 1837.

Colebrooke's contributions to Sanscrit literature, drawn up at the request of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Rev. Principal Mill, the following is the account given of his articles on Hindú astronomy.

"'To this deeply interesting subject of inquiry, none has so completely brought the qualification desiderated by IDELER, the union of Sanscrit learning with competent astronomical science. The account of the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac, in the ninth volume,—and the essay in the twelfth on the notions of the Hindú mathematicians respecting the precession of the equinoxes and the motions of the planets,—are most valuable contributions to our knowledge on this subject. They are the best corrections to the extravagant notions of Indian antiquity, which the preceding speculations of Bailly and others had deduced from imperfect notices of the Hindú observations, and also to the crude and fanciful speculations with which a writer on the opposite side, the late Mr. Bentley, had unhappily adulterated some valuable and interesting calculations.'

"This reference to Mr. Bentley leads us to the controversy above alluded to. A paper published by that gentleman, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, was rather severely criticised in the first number of the Edinburgh Review. The reviewer was, it is believed, Professor Hamilton; but Mr. Bentley ascribed its origin, if not its composition, to Mr. Colebrooke. There does not appear to have been any reason whatever for such a supposition; but it took strong hold of Mr. Bentley's mind, and in his writings as well as in his personal intercourse with Mr. Colebrooke, it exercised an unfortunate and painful influence. Whatever opinion Mr. Colebrooke might have entertained of Mr. Bentley's views, which are described by Dr. Mill as crude and fanciful, they are never adverted to in Mr. Colebrooke's writings in any but a liberal and candid tone; and, in his personal conduct towards Mr. Bentley, those who were acquainted with both well know that

there prevailed at all times a kindly and conciliatory spirit. The animosity inspired by his supposed participation in the obnoxious review was, however, not to be appeased; and, in Mr. Bentley's last and posthumous publication, besides a virulent attack in the preface, professedly upon his reviewer, but evidently levelled at a different person, he devotes the closing chapter to the refutation of some of Mr. Colebrooke's assertions and positions, accusing him not only of unintentional error, but of wilful misrepresentation, or unfair suppression of the truth. These imputations Mr. Colebrooke thought it right to notice, however averse from controversial writing. His answer was accordingly published in the Asiatic Journal, March, 1826. It is short, dispassionate, and conclusive, and is of itself a sufficient refutation of Mr. Bentley's injustice in attributing to Mr. Colebrooke any other motive than a wish to investigate and promulgate the truth. It is as evident from the character of this paper, as it is certain from personal knowledge, that Mr. Colebrooke's concluding remarks are wholly borne out by the fact, when he says, "I never spoke nor wrote of Mr. Bentley with disrespect; and I gave no provocation for the tone of his attack on me."

Since these remarks appeared, I have found among Mr. Colebrooke's papers some interesting memoranda on the astronomy of the Hindus, which support Dr. Mill's remarks as to the candour and impartial tone which marks Mr. Colebrooke's survey of a subject which has proved so attractive to the lovers of controversy, and is still involved in some obscurity. Before, however, referring to them, I must ask the reader to keep in view the state of Oriental research when Mr. Colebrooke engaged in his inquiries, and more especially at the period in his career at which we have now arrived.

The scepticism of which Mr. Bentley was the exponent, in respect to the astronomy of the Hindus, began to show itself in questioning the sources from which our knowledge was derived, or even the soundness of English scholarship. Some

of these doubts are referred to and combated by Mr. Colebrooke in his Essay on the Védas; and it cannot be denied that some of the pioneers of research had given occasion for this distrust. I trust I shall not be accused of want of respect for the memory of a great scholar, when I add that Sir William Jones himself contributed, in no small degree, to this feeling. Probably no two writers, treating on the same obscure subjects, and with similar advantages of scholarship and learning, ever exhibited a greater diversity in the manner of communicating their knowledge to the world than did these two eminent men. They do, indeed, represent two distinct schools of thought, which pervade literature as well as science. The one class of writers, imaginative and inventive, powerful in illustration, always eager to trace analogies and to seek to throw light on the history of progress in one department by comparison with another. When these valuable qualities are united, as in the case of Jones, with great erudition, their works constitute the most attractive as well as instructive of compositions. The aim of the other school, of which Mr. Colebrooke may be regarded as the exponent, on the other hand, is to examine and record facts with the rigour of a student of physical science, and to lay down the results of their inquiries with a method necessarily dry, but affording a storehouse of important observations for future students. Mr. Colebrooke's comments, or general remarks, are few but weighty, and put forward with a caution that may be regarded as excessive, and render his writings unattractive to the general reader. It may be remarked, however, that these defects of manner resulted in a great measure from the opposite defects of his great predecessor. Sir William Jones was constantly led astray by the desire to satisfy some preconceived theory as to the connection or identity of races, science, and even religion; and, accordingly, among many sound and valuable observations, we find hasty generalizations mixed with brilliant but superficial conclusions.

In none of his papers is this defect more conspicuous than

in that on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India. The object of the essay is, as stated at the commencement, to trace features of resemblance between the mythology of the East and West, pointing to some immemorial connection between the nations which adopted these different systems of polytheism, and leading, in his view, to the conclusion that we might "infer a general union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God."

The subject proposed for inquiry is one of the most curious in Asiatic research. But no paper ever illustrated more forcibly the danger of hasty generalization on imperfect data. Later researches show conclusively that the Hindu Pantheon which Sir William Jones took for his comparison, consists of a medley of comparatively modern superstitions engrafted on, and mixed with, the ancient creed of the Aryans. With the knowledge of the contents of the Vedas, as presented to the world in Mr. Colebrooke's essay, and more fully developed by later writers, we can trace with some confidence the changes which the religious system of India has undergone since the epoch when these writings originated. The inquiry is even now incomplete, though every year adds to our knowledge. At the time when Sir William Jones commenced his labours, to draw wide and sweeping conclusions was in the highest degree rash, from the imperfect acquaintance with the history of the literature which had then been obtained.

Similar remarks will apply to his essay on Indian chronology, which commences by mooting the question "whether it is not, in fact, the same with our own, but embellished and obscured by the fancy of their poets and the riddles of their astronomers;" or to the supplement to the same essay, where he maintains "that the Mosaic and Indian chronologies are perfectly consistent; that Menu, the son of Brahmá, was the Adima or first created mortal, and consequently our Adam;"

other Hindu saints are identified with Noah and Nimrod, while Vyása, the compiler of the Védas, is supposed to have introduced Buddhism from Egypt.

The climax of this system was reached in his discourse on the Hindus, which gives a lively sketch of those points in Indian literature, as then known to us, which were calculated to excite interest or promote inquiry, but is pervaded by the same tone of exaggeration. Hindu architecture, especially that of the Buddhists, indicates, in his view, the style of the same workmen who erected the Pyramids and other monuments of Egypt. The letters on the monuments are hastily assumed to be partly Indian, partly Abyssinian; and these "indubitable facts" are adduced in support of his opinion that "Ethiopia and Hindustan were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race." The fact that the Incas of Peru, who boasted of a descent from the Sun, styled their great festival *Ramasitva*, favours his surmise that "South America was peopled by the same race who imported into the farthest parts of Asia the rites and fabulous history of Rome." The above are no exaggerated specimens of the style of this lively essay, which concludes with the violent assumption that the Hindus had an immemorial affinity not merely, as comparative philology has since shown, with the old Persians, Greeks, Goths, and Celts, but also with Ethiopians, Egyptians, Phenicians, and even Chinese, Japanese, and Peruvians. So strong was the hold which these views had over his imagination, that they were repeated and developed in subsequent papers, and especially in one of the last productions of his fertile pen, that on the original families of nations. Views like these could not fail to excite some distrust; but they were redeemed by an erudition that gave weight to his opinions; and much of the information which he communicated to the world has borne the test of subsequent research. When, however, these speculations were followed up by those whose industry was not directed by the same scholarship, a spirit of scepticism was

roused, and the doubts which began to prevail regarding the soundness of these highly-coloured views were increased by rumours of gross impositions or impudent forgeries.

The most notable instance of the attempt to impose on the world consisted in the production of spurious works in Sanscrit by one of the missionaries of the Propaganda. The translation of a work which was supposed to be one of the Indian sacred writings was brought from India, and came into the possession of Voltaire, who presented it to the Royal Library at Paris, with a confident expression of opinion regarding its authenticity. It is referred to in a tone of eulogy in his history of the age of Louis the Fifteenth. It was afterwards published at Paris, with the title "L'Ezour Védam, ou ancien commentaire du Védam, contenant l'exposition des opinions religieuses et philosophiques des Indiens, traduit du Sanscretam par un Brame," the editor announcing that it had undergone revision by Anquetil du Perron. But it did not long impose on the world, for Sonnerat, who examined it, pronounced that it was nothing more than a controversial work in refutation of Hinduism, and with a covert allusion to Christianity. Many years later it became known that the work formed a portion of a series of treatises in the possession of the Catholic Missionaries at Pondicherry, composed by a writer or writers who evidently had acquired a considerable command of Sanscrit, and imitated the style of the Puráńas. The facts connected with this singular discovery are related by Mr. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service, in the 14th volume of the Asiatic Researches. These works are supposed by him to have been composed by Robert de Nobili, a missionary, known for his command of the languages of Southern India, and for the eccentric methods adopted by him to gain favour with the Brahmins.

It is not surprising that those who first engaged in inquiries connected with the literature of the Hindus should have been imposed upon. Colonel Dow, whose translation of Ferishta

appeared in 1770, gives, in his preliminary dissertation, what would be now regarded as a meagre account of the manners and literature of the Hindus. It was derived from a Pundit whom he consulted, and who professed to give authentic versions of some of the principal *Shasters* that Dow had procured for the purpose. The passages cited by Dow were afterwards ascertained to be taken from a treatise on Rhetoric.[1] A more important and well-known instance of literary deception is given by Wilford, in the introduction to his essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, in the eighth volume of the Researches. This gentleman had laid before the Society a succession of papers with a view to connect the legendary records of the Hindus, their chronology and geography, with those of Western nations. In this he had been encouraged by the example and direct advice of the founder of the Society. The materials from which these Essays were composed were, to a limited degree, collected by personal research; but the extent of his inquiries, which could not be conducted with satisfaction without some knowledge of many branches of Hindu literature, led him, at an early stage of his researches, to employ the assistance of a Pundit. The narrative of the daring imposition, of which Wilford was the victim, is a painful one, and may be passed over very briefly. It will be sufficient to say that he was attracted by the legends which his Pundit and other learned natives repeated to him, and which bore, as he thought, an astonishing affinity with those of the Western mythologists. In return, he communicated to his Pundit information on the ancient mythology, history, and geography of the west, with instructions to search through the voluminous works of Indian mythologists, and supply him with extracts which favoured his preconceived views. The consequence was what might be supposed. He was supplied to his heart's content, till, his suspicions being roused by the appearance of some erasures in one of the extracts, he was led

[1] Wilson, Collected Works, vol. v., page 306.

to submit the whole to a critical examination, and the wholesale forgeries of which he had been the victim became disclosed.

When Wilford made the discovery of this imposture, the agony which he felt at the injury to his own literary fame was embittered by the thought that he had been the means of misleading Sir William Jones on those points. Sir William had expressed some surprise at the startling conclusions at which Wilford had arrived; but, on perusing the Sanscrit vouchers on which Wilford relied, he had not merely committed himself to the opinion that they gave evidence of an early communication between the Hindus and the inhabitants of Egypt and Ethiopia, but he submitted to the Society the translation of one of these documents, giving an account of a Hindu patriarch and his three sons, who had escaped from a general deluge, and the youngest of whom, bearing a name not unlike that of the son of Noah, is cursed by his father in terms and under circumstances closely resembling the celebrated curse of Ham.[1] The candour with which Wilford describes these impudent fabrications disarmed criticism; but the effect of such confessions was to confirm the doubts which now began to be generally felt whether our countrymen, in their zeal for knowledge, were not the dupes of the crafty Hindu. With some the authenticity, with others even the existence, of the Vedas, was called in question. The fruit of this

[1] See the note annexed to Wilford's Essay on Egypt and the Nile, in the third volume of the Researches. Sir William, after informing the Society that he had read again and again the passages in the Purâńas and other books on which Wilford relied, vouches for the perfect good faith and general accuracy of his extracts and translations. It appears from Wilford's account that Sir William could only have compared them partially with the originals, and Wilford is naturally distressed at the extent of the guarantee. Lord Teignmouth refers to the subject in the preface to his Life of Jones, and takes unnecessary pains to assure the reader that the interpolated passage was never submitted to his inspection. The most curious circumstance connected with this unfortunate incident is that the translation of the fraudulent passage was inserted by Lord Teignmouth in the life, with some commendatory remarks on Sir William's earnest desire to reconcile sacred and profane history; and they were retained there after the discovery of the imposture.

sceptical spirit was exhibited, some years later, in a wild paradox, which was advanced by Dugald Stewart in the third volume of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, and necessarily attracted some attention, as coming from such an authority. He there maintains that the Sanscrit language itself was of artificial origin. This extraordinary opinion had been advanced so far back as the year 1780 by Meiner, in his "Historia de vero Deo." The passage is quoted by Stewart; and Dow, also, in the dissertation prefixed to his translation of Ferishta, inclines to a similar opinion. Stewart, who follows Meiner, assumes that Indian literature and science were derived from Greece through the successors of Alexander, in Bactria, and that the Brahmins, who had acquired a smattering of Greek, formed out of it an artificial language of their own, to express their doctrine and at the same time conceal it from the vulgar. Whole pages are devoted to the discussion of the possibility of inventing a language; but it is needless to add that it is advanced merely as an hypothesis, with no array of facts to support it. The late Professor Wilson thought it necessary to enter into the lists so late as the year 1827, to vindicate the claims of Sanscrit to an independent and legitimate origin;[1] and it may be inferred that Stewart's views gave expression to the distrust which existed, even at that time, as to the soundness of Sanscrit scholarship.

I have thought it necessary to give these particulars concerning some of Mr. Colebrooke's predecessors in this field, because, without this retrospect, it would be difficult to appreciate the services he rendered, and even to understand that excess of caution which characterizes his Essays on Indian literature. It has been seen from his letters, and it may be observed still more in his writings on political and social economy, that he was inclined to bold and speculative views. Instances will be given towards the end of this memoir of this speculative turn showing itself in some of his scientific

[1] Remarks on Professor Dugald Stewart's theory of the origin of the Sanscrit language, Calcutta Quarterly, March, 1827.

writings, and on subjects requiring cautious handling. But the moment he entered upon a field of literature, where a free course is often allowed to the imagination in compensation for scanty facts, he writes with a sobriety so rare, that it at once commanded the confidence of men of letters. It may be needless to add that this has been confirmed by subsequent writers on this subject, who bear testimony to the wonderful exactness as well as the extent of his studies. It is especially necessary to keep this in mind with regard to the Essay on the Vedas, and those on the astronomy of the Hindus. Many pages of the former are indeed devoted to substantiate the authenticity of the papers that had come into his hands. The concise train of argument by which he supported his opinion satisfied the world at once that he had really in his possession a collection of the works recognized as sacred by the Hindus; but it left it open to criticize and exclude from the collection any portion which did not bear the rigid scrutiny he had applied to them himself. Of these arguments, which from their nature are of unequal weight, the most important is that which is derived from the succession of elaborate commentators who verify, while they expound, the original text. Scarcely inferior in value are the references to Indian sacred works, which abound in other and more modern branches of Indian literature, and especially in grammatical works which are of ancient origin. Confidence in one who had already given proofs of erudition and candour, led to his views being readily accepted; but his own manuscripts remain in evidence that the task he set himself was performed with a closeness and severity of study that has rarely been equalled. The Vedic manuscripts presented to the library of the East India Company indicate, by marginal notes, sometimes by translations of the hymns, that before presenting to the world his review he had made himself master of the contents of those obscure and voluminous records.[1]

[1] These interesting facts were brought under my notice by Professor MaxMüller.

It would, however, have been scarcely possible for him to give so full an account of the Vedas, but for an advantage which does not seem to have been possessed by his predecessors, in the possession of some of the most valuable commentaries on the ancient text. The copy which Colonel Polier acquired, and which was afterwards deposited in the British Museum, was examined by Professor H. H. Wilson, who describes it as complete, so far as regards the text; but he adds that "without the scholia it is of comparatively little use." Sir William Jones, after a cursory inspection of this copy, was enabled to distinguish between the style of the Atherva Veda and that of the other three. He pointed out that the former was comparatively modern, and that even a learner of Sanscrit might read a considerable portion without a dictionary; but "the style of the other three," he adds, "is so obsolete as to seem almost a different dialect." We learn from the same authority that, in his time, very few Brahmins at Benares could understand any part of these obscure works. Our knowledge of their contents would probably have been long delayed, were it not for the circumstance on which Mr. Colebrooke congratulated himself, of procuring the works of the scholiasts.[1] They give detailed renderings of the original text in classic Sanscrit, and are followed by copious annotations by later writers. Their value as authoritative expositions of the obscure originals has been called in question since Mr. Colebrooke's Essay appeared. A school of criticism has arisen in Germany which, not without reason, questions any implicit reliance on authors, the most important of whom are of modern date compared with the high antiquity of the original works, and whose fallibility is proved by the uncertain or contradictory renderings of important passages. These views have not passed without question by those who uphold the traditional interpretation of the commentators. Without entering upon a question, which is still *sub judice*, it may be

[1] See *ante* p. 141.

sufficient to say that, even in the opinion of Professor Roth of Tübingen, who led the van of attack on the commentators, the importance of tradition is recognized in that part of the Vedic literature which bears on theology and worship; and in the opinion of Professor Max Müller, the disputable matter is limited to a small portion of the commentary of Sáyana, the most important of these scholiasts, who lived in the fourteenth century of our era. Without their aid, and in the absence of dictionaries and the appliances of modern scholarship, Mr. Colebrooke could never have accomplished such a task during the leisure of an active public career.[1]

To return to the subject of Indian Astronomy, we have seen that Mr. Colebrooke's opinions underwent considerable modification from time to time. He had been attracted by the subject so far back as 1786, and drew conclusions, from his own independent inquiries, as to the high antiquity of the Indian science, similar to those since put forward by Bailly and

[1] The difficulties which a student experiences who follows implicitly, or deviates from, the traditional interpretation of Sáyana are very candidly set forth by Professor Max Müller in the preface to the third volume of his edition of the Rig-veda, and in a recent essay on the hymns of the Gaupāyanas, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866. The remark in the text will be found at page 452. The opinion of Professor Roth, to which I have referred, will be found in the preface to the first volume of his Lexicon, and is cited at length by Dr. J. Muir in his essay on the interpretation of the Vedas, in which the whole subject is fully discussed. Journal R.A.S., 1866. The question at issue, as is often the case in such controversies, is rather one of degree than of principle. Professor H. H. Wilson, in the introductions to successive volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda, describes very clearly the nature of the difficulties with which a student has to contend, and the valuable aid which he has derived from the commentary of Sáyana; and he further, in many notes, points out the uncertainty of his renderings. His views could not have given occasion for this controversy, were it not for the slighting manner in which he refers to the labours of others, when they questioned the authority of this great commentator, for whom Professor Wilson claimed "a knowledge of his text far beyond the pretensions of *any* European scholar." Thus, in a note to the tenth Hymn of the first book, after some remarks on the interpretation of a passage by Rosen and Roth, he adds, "Sáyana, no doubt, knew much better than either of the European interpreters what the expression intended." Such expressions were calculated to give offence. The controversy based on them assumed much wider dimensions than either Wilson or Mr. Colebrooke thought likely to arise, owing to their respect for the Indian scholiast.

Playfair. He does not appear to have followed up the subject at that time. He was evidently repelled by the mixture of astrological follies with which some of the Hindu treatises abound; and he thought that a science, cultivated with a view to the casting of nativities, promised a scanty reward to the student. He, in fact, considered the subject exhausted by the researches of Mr. Davis in his valuable paper on the astronomical computations of the Hindus.

Some years later he resumed his inquiries, and pursued them at intervals during his residence in Calcutta. He commenced the translation of the *Súrya Siddhánta*, of the *Siddhánta Śirómaṅi* and of the *Bráhme Sp'huta Siddhánta*, or astronomy of Brahmegupta. These translations are each accompanied with copious notes, in which he quotes from the Indian commentators. He had also commenced a separate translation of the *Gólád'hyáya*, or treatise on spherics, by Bháscara, forming a portion of the *Siddhánta Śirómaṅi*. He had further thrown together some extracts from works descriptive of the astronomical instruments in use in ancient India, that were evidently intended for a separate essay. I have also a translation of the Jyótish, or astronomical calendar annexed to the Védas. Another manuscript volume is likewise extant containing a variety of notes and elaborate tables, and bearing striking testimony to the comprehensiveness of the survey which he took of the Indian science. In it he travels over some of the ground already traversed by Davis and Bentley. The Essay of the former is repeatedly cited, and the calculations of both are subjected to a close scrutiny. In some cases those of Bentley are transferred to this common place book, with the note "verified," in Mr. Colebrooke's handwriting. The method of Bentley is also applied to other points not included in the survey of that writer, and in a manner which shows the importance he attached to his ingenious theory.[1] The principal part of the volume is devoted

[1] Thus he endeavours to deduce from the errors of the Hindu rules some con-

to a close analysis of the Ptolemaic and Indian systems, and to a comparison between some astronomical elements in Indian treatises and those of the Alexandrian and Arabian writers and of modern astronomy. The whole collection of papers leaves no doubt on the mind that he at one time contemplated a work similar in plan to his volume on the Indian Algebra: to consist of translations of the more important treatises extant, accompanied by a dissertation on the state of the science as cultivated in India. There is also reason to suppose that his change of plan arose from the disappointment he experienced as his studies advanced, This indeed appears distinctly in some particulars which may be shortly adverted to.

It is well known that our first knowledge of the existence in India of a body of scientific astronomy was derived from

clusion as to the epoch of their formation. The time of the vernal equinox, in the Benares Almanac for 1806, differs from that of the Nautical Almanac, for the same year, by 53'. 18". The amount allowed for precession being in Indian Astronomy 54" or 3¾" in excess of the modern determination, the former figures may be supposed to represent the accumulated error of the precession. He adds the following note to the calculations, which are worked out in some detail: "It is thus 853 years since the beginning of *Mésha* was determined where it now is, by the Astronomers of Benares and other Hindu Astronomers." From another and more refined calculation, he deduces a term of 1,059 years.

If reliance is to be placed on these estimates, it will open some interesting questions. The former of these calculations carries us back to the year 953, being only a few years after the death of Albatani, the most celebrated of the Arabian observers, who had arrived at the same quantity as the Hindus assign to the precession (viz. 54"), by the comparison of his own observations of the star *Regulus* and one of the stars in *Scorpio*, with the position assigned to them in some recorded observations 783 years before his time. (Riccioli's Almagest, VI. 16.) Albatani's correction of Ptolemy's estimate was accepted by astronomers until the time of Copernicus, and nothing that is contained in the known works of Indian astronomers should rob him of the honour of this discovery until something more definite be known as to the age of the earliest Indian work in which the same estimate is found. The Súrya Siddhánta, which is the authority relied upon by the Hindus for the rule which determines the amount of precession, is a work of an uncertain author, and which, according to Mr. Colebrooke, "may have been, and probably was, modernized from a more ancient treatise of the same name." (Mis. Ess. ii. 391.) Mr. Whitney, in his notes to Burgess's translation of the Súrya Siddhánta (p. 100), gives reasons for supposing that the rule for calculating the precession was interpolated in that work in comparatively modern times. He points out that the lines crop out confusedly, and without any connection with the rest of the treatise, and that if they were expunged, no trace of the theory would be found in the rest of the work.

some remarkable sets of tables which were brought to Europe by M. La Loubere in 1687, and by M. Legentil in 1769, and attracted much attention in France. Though they contained neither principles nor demonstrations, yet the rules themselves enabled the student to determine the places of the sun, moon, and some of the planets, with sufficient accuracy for the calculation of eclipses and the formation of a calendar. When more closely examined by European astronomers, it became apparent that the Zodiac was mapped out and divided into twenty-seven constellations, evidently pointing to the moon's path. Places were assigned to the principal stars, and quantities assigned to the motions of the planets and to the length of the year, that differed but little from those of modern astronomers. The scanty facts that were brought together became, in the hands of Bailly, the foundation of the startling hypothesis, that the very variation which these tables exhibited from the conclusions of modern astronomy indicated the quantity of change that must have taken place in the interval of nearly 5000 years; corresponding in some particulars with those which are established by the theory of gravitation as perfected by the most recent researches. Unless, therefore, ancient India possessed its Newton or Lagrange, the observations of the heavenly bodies must have been carried to perfection at this remote age. It is to be observed that the argument does not rest here. The success of modern astronomy is not only due to the perfection of our instruments, but, in some important instances, to the comparison of recent observations with those of former ages. Before, therefore, Indian sages had arrived at this perfection, they must have had records of observations of still greaer antiquity.

Davis, whose Essay on the Astronomical Computations of the Hindus appeared in 1789, was the first to have recourse to the original sources of this branch of Indian science, and certainly the first to set the example of a dispassionate review of their contents. Though he leant to the conclusion that

the Súrya Siddhánta gave proofs of some knowledge of the principles of astronomy, and that the Indians must have cultivated it with some success, some of the facts adduced were calculated to raise doubts as to their claims to originality. He was the first to point out the resemblance between parts of the Indian and Ptolemaic systems, and he shows that, in calculating the times of the full moon and of eclipses, they are satisfied with approximations, and that the practical results of their science did not correspond with its great pretensions. The most interesting fact which his Essay disclosed, was the tradition of a former position of the solstices, which, if founded on observation, would carry the science back to the 12th century before the Christian era. This remarkable tradition, which has since then been repeatedly referred to, excited the liveliest curiosity, as it afforded some hope of establishing the chronology of the Hindus on some better grounds than their enormous and fabulous cycles.

Mr. Colebrooke's first essay on Indian astronomy is devoted to a comparison between the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiac, and is closely allied to Davis's researches. The subject had engaged Sir William Jones's attention, as one of antiquarian interest. Apart, however, from the question of priority of invention, a knowledge of these divisions, and of the stars which compose or determine them, was an essential step to an examination of the Indian science, and the chronological questions connected with it. The task was full of difficulty, owing, not merely to the obscurity of the original works, but to the comparatively capricious way in which stars of small magnitude, and, in some cases, far removed from the zodiac, are connected with the divisions of the zodiac. The essay is not confined to this subject, but includes some curious information regarding their astrological lore, and the instruments in use among the Hindus, and touches upon other points in Indian astronomy, in which the question of chronology is constantly kept in view.

When Mr. Colebrooke resumed the subject some years later, his opinions were matured, and in no respect more so than when he enters on a comparison between the Indian and Ptolemaic systems. A strong presumption is raised that the Hindus were borrowers from the Greeks. With regard to their opinion on the subject of the precession of the equinoxes, to which the Essay is in the first place devoted, he delivers a doubtful verdict. The question was one of importance, as it would test the claims of Indian science to originality. He satisfies himself that their fanciful notion of a libration of the equinoctial point was held by Hindu writers many centuries before it found a place in the astronomy of the Arabs. He leant also to the opinion, that their estimate of the annual amount of precession must have been the result of observation; but the subject, which had cost him considerable research, is dropped abruptly with the suggestion of further inquiry.[1] On

[1] If reliance can be placed on the authenticity of a set of tables, attributed to Theon of Alexandria, who lived in the fourth century of our era, the theory of the libration of the equinoxes was entertained by the Greeks, and at a period antecedent to the time when it was held by the Hindus. Theon speaks of it as the opinion of certain old astronomers, but not that of Ptolemy. Delambre, in the second volume of his "Astronomie Ancienne," gives a detailed account of this work, and cites at length the passage relating to this notion of the libration, which extended, as was supposed, to 8° in either direction. The writer of the life of Theon, in the "Biographie Universelle," throws doubt on the authenticity of this manuscript, which, in some copies, is attributed to Ptolemy himself. It is, however, referred to with some triumph by M. Biot, as fatal to the claims of the Hindus to originality, advanced in their favour by Mr. Colebrooke. M. Biot says, "Toutefois, en reconnaissant qu'il n'existe pas, le sage Colebrooke trouve que la seule conception atteste manifestement la haute science, et l'originalité d'invention des astronomes Hindous:" and again, "Mais vouloir, avec Colebrooke, présenter cette conception de fantaisie comme une doctrine scientifique conclue d'observations réelles, au moyen desquelles les Hindous, bien avant Hipparque, auraient découvert la précession par eux-mêmes, et l'auraient évaluée plus exactement que lui et les astronomes Arabes du moyen âge, c'est se créer une chimère qu'aucune personne instruite des faits ne partagera (Études sur L'Astronomie Indienne, p. 85)." These remarks are unjust. It may be readily conceded that the Indian theories regarding the equinoxes are only of importance as showing how earnestly the attention of these astronomers was directed to this motion, and favouring the supposition that their estimate of its amount must have been tested by observations. The limit of 24° assigned by them to this movement, probably had its origin in the tradition of the former place of the solstices so often referred to in discussions regarding the antiquity of the most ancient writings of the Hindus. Certainly no claim to "high science" can be

this interesting question, as well as with regard to the determination of astronomical quantities, such as the mean motions of the planets, the length of the year, and the synodical revolutions of the moon, the quantities assigned in Indian treatises differ from those of the Alexandrian astronomers, and are at the same time so near to the truth, that he long clung to the belief that they had been arrived at by independent observation, but the question eluded his grasp. It underwent a minute investigation, and some portions only of his comparisons between the Hindu determinations and those of other schools of astronomy are given in his published Essays. As the Indian treatises are silent as to the grounds of their conclusions, and indeed, as Mr. Colebrooke remarks, record no observations, he applied himself, in the absence of direct evidence, to the account they give of their instruments of observation, with the evident hope of finding something to justify his expectations. In a memorandum, evidently intended for the commencement of an essay or chapter, his hopes are thus avowed.

On the Astronomical Instruments of the Hindus.

"In investigating the Indian astronomy, a knowledge of the instruments possessed by the Hindus is requisite to a just appreciation of their merits in the improvement of the science as far as it was carried by them. If the instruments of which their best astronomers have left descriptions were inadequate to the making of astronomical observations with such degree of correctness as the state of the science among them implies; or if they were precisely the same as had been described by earlier writers of other nations; it might be presumed, in the silence of their own writers, that they received the improvement of the science entirely from foreign countries; but if they were found to have possessed instruments peculiar to

preferred in their favour, until some proof be given of their independent labours. The reader is referred to Mr. Colebrooke's essay, and he will judge whether he attached the exaggerated importance to these opinions which is attributed to him.

themselves, and adequate to their known attainments in astronomy, this circumstance would demonstrate that, whatever they may have owed to foreign sources of knowledge, the seeds of true science were not unfruitful in their own soil."

He proceeds to remark that Hindu astronomers have been not unwilling to benefit by foreign instruction, but the subject is pursued no further, though his note book contains many extracts from European authors illustrative of the nature of the instruments in use in antiquity.

Applying this test, whose soundness may fairly be admitted, to the astronomy of the Hindus, it was, in his opinion, found wanting. He does indeed, in his earliest Essay—that on the division of the Zodiac—give a full account of the instruments in use in India, and prefers a somewhat hesitating claim to originality in some of their details; but his matured reviews will be found in his paper on the equinoxes published some five years later. By this time he had become satisfied that no safe conclusions can be arrived at from the confused accounts of later writers; and he pronounces their instruments to be too rudely executed, whatever may have been thought of their design, to enable them to make any delicate observations.

Disappointed in his expectations on this point, he found slender grounds for confidence on another question to which he had evidently attached the greatest importance. That the apogees of all the planets are subjected to a small annual variation, is one of the discoveries of modern astronomy. The Arabian astronomer, Albutani, had indeed, by a comparison between his own observations and those of Ptolemy, discovered that of the sun, and distinguished it from the effect of precession. From this he inferred a similar motion in the other planets, which has been since verified. Now the Hindu writers not merely assume this motion with regard to all the planetary bodies, but assign specific quantities to each. Their claims, both as regards accuracy and originality, seemed to Mr. Colebrooke to demand special investigation, and he prepared him-

self for it by a careful examination of the history of these discoveries, and of the astronomical data on which they were severally founded. He also prepared comparative tables of the determinations of the Indian and other astronomical schools. Here again he was doomed to disappointment

In describing Bháscara's rules for determining the place of the apogee, which he quotes at some length, he was arrested by the fact that the amount of the sun's motion must elude the observations of any Hindu astronomer, and he makes a marginal note to that effect; and his doubts were confirmed by the utter absence of evidence that the rules are founded on any observation or scientific principle. Having satisfied himself that the quantities assigned to the revolutions are merely arbitrary numbers, invented to complete the analogy between the motion of the moon and that of the other planets, the subject is disposed of in his published Essay in a few slighting remarks.[1]

It is clear from these instances, that he engaged in these inquiries sanguine of finding proofs of originality and invention in the Indian treatises, and that he threw the subject aside the moment he satisfied himself that it promised no fruits of sufficient value to reward the inquirer. Similar conclusions might

[1] Bháscara's comment on his own rules are referred to at the close of the Essay. They are quoted in Mr. Colebrooke's memorandum book at length, and they contain a singular admission of the incompetence of Indian astronomers to deal with the question. They begin as follows: "That the planets, apsides, epicycles, and nodes, moving in their respective paths, complete so many revolutions in a *calpa*, a sacred tradition proves; but through length of time and errors of transcribers, and blunders of teachers and students, it has been altered so that there is now a question which of the varied traditions is the true one. If it be said, that alone which is demonstrable is authority in mathematical science, and those revolutions which demonstration shows to be right should be acknowledged, the answer is, 'No; for the evidence can be apprehended by none but a person of transcendent genius; nor can the revolutions be so investigated, since a man's life is too short. But to determine a planet's motion, its place must be observed daily with an astronomical instrument through one entire revolution. Now the revolution of Saturn is complete in thirty years, and those of the apsides in thousands of years. Therefore this matter is not within the power of man.' Mr. Colebrooke's marginal remark on this passage is as follows: "In the explanation of the method of observing, no idea is suggested of using the recorded observations of anterior astronomers."

be drawn from his published Essays, which fall far short of the survey he contemplated, and in the earliest of which some suggestions may be found as to the antiquity of the Indian science that are not supported by his final conclusions. The second and more matured paper gives brief summaries on points which had been the subject of laborious investigation, and leaves much in the doubt and obscurity in which it was originally involved. But enough has been said to illustrate the candid and honest spirit in which he engaged in these researches. The confidence that has been placed in his conclusions is in no small degree owing to the contrast between his views and the speculations of some of his predecessors.

The theory of Bailly was ingenious and imposing, but was received with some distrust even from the first. In his opinion the Indian tables assigned values to many astronomical elements, which by the theory of gravity might have belonged to them in remote antiquity; and as the modern astronomy of the Hindus was unequal to the correction of those tables, so as to adapt them to this distant epoch, they must, so he concluded, have been formed on actual observation. The strength of his argument consisted in the number of instances in which this agreement is contended for, and the fallacy which lurked under many of the assumptions was not easily detected.[1] Bentley, on the other hand, and with some show of reason, contended that the tables themselves afforded proofs of their modern origin. Starting with the assumption that the date of a system of astronomy is to be deduced from the

[1] Bailly's theory is refuted at great length by Delambre, in his Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne. Laplace (Système du Monde, p. 322), disposes of it in a few pregnant sentences. He shows that in some instances Bailly proves too much, and would carry the antiquity of the Indian tables to an epoch beyond that of the supposed conjunction of the planets, while in others the modern date of the calculations is apparent from internal evidence. The assumption on which they are based, viz., of a general conjunction of the planets at the commencement of the Kali-yugá, is, according to Laplace, opposed to the calculations of modern tables, while the errors of some of the astronomical elements are so marked as to be inconsistent with the supposition that the tables were formed from accurate observation, at any defined epoch.

ascertainment of a time when it gave results nearest to the truth, he worked out with great industry the position of the planets at different epochs, according to the rules of the Súrya Siddhánta, and compared them with their true position as determined by European science. The period when the former exhibited the least error was, he contended, that of their formation; and this argument would have carried the greatest weight had there been an agreement of results in the different instances adduced. But Bentley, like his illustrious predecessor Bailly, was so blinded by the love of system as to overlook the most glaring inconsistences, and threw discredit on the methods which he employed, and which ought to have a place in any attempt to test the antiquity of Hindu astronomy.[1] They had Mr. Colebrooke's approval; but the discordance in the results confirmed the impression to which we have seen that he arrived on other grounds, that the practical astronomy was too imperfect to render such a test of any value, except as an approximation. To the successive and personal attacks of Bentley, he replied with dignity and conclusively, "I have been no favourer nor advocate of Indian astronomy. I have endeavoured to lay before the public, in an intelligible form, the fruit of my researches concerning it. I have repeatedly noticed its imperfections, and have been ready to admit that it has been no scanty borrower as to theory."

[1] In his first attempt to apply his principle he takes the mean of ten calculations; but the results differ so widely, ranging from 1105 to 340 years, as to vitiate the whole reasoning founded on them (Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 572); while in another instance, that of the planet Mercury, he admits that his principle would lead to the startling conclusion that the Súrya Siddhánta (the work in question) was written in an age to come, and 1454 years from the date when Bentley then wrote. He lightly assumes that the position of the planet was ill determined by the Indian observer—probably, as he suggests, from the planet being too near the sun. In a similar spirit he discards altogether any conclusions from the quantity assigned in the Indian treatise to the obliquity of the ecliptic which forms an important point in the argument of Bailly and Playfair, and would carry us back to a very remote age. Bentley contends very justly that the Indian observation is not to be relied upon; but the reason for his doubts, founded on the rudeness of the Indian astronomy, is fatal to the argument of the whole Essay.

CHAPTER VIII.

ESSAYS ON BOHRAHS, JAINS, PROSODY, GEOGRAPHY, AND THE HIMÁLAYAS.

AMIDST the arduous labours described in the preceding chapters, Mr. Colebrooke found leisure to prosecute many inquiries of literary or scientific interest. He contributed to the seventh volume of the Researches a short paper on the origin and tenets of certain Muhammedan sects, more particularly the Bohrahs, a community which is rather numerous in Gujerat, but is scattered in small numbers over other parts of India. They had early attracted attention by some peculiarities of manners, and more especially by the government of the tribe or community by a hierarchy, deviating in this from the usual practice of Muhammedans. By some they were confounded with the Ishmaelites, one of the 73 sects into which, according to Sale, the professors of Islam claim to be divided; but no trustworthy information was procured concerning them until Mr. Colebrooke's attention was accidentally directed to a controversial work of the time of Jehángír, which afforded proof of their Indian origin, and detailed the history of their conversion in the 13th century, in the province of Gujerat.

Dr. Hunter, the secretary of the Asiatic Society, had, in the meantime, endeavoured, when in the west of India, to procure some precise information from one of their priests, whose acquaintance he sought; but his advances were not well received; and, in writing to Mr. Colebrooke, he added that he had not much confidence in the information he had

procured, as his informant evinced much suspicion regarding the object of his inquiry, and an aversion to free communication of his knowledge. It seems the tribe claimed an Arabian origin, having emigrated, as they asserted, from Yemen, under the pressure of famine or some other disaster. Any information as to their tenets was steadily refused without previous authority from the high priest of the tribe. Regarding this latter person, Mr. Hunter wrote as follows: "Their chief, Mooluvee Seif-ood-deen, who is the spiritual and temporal head of the community, resides at Moorabee near Nugur. He is about thirty years of age, and has held that situation about two years, since the death of his elder brother and predecessor, by whose nomination he suceeded, although two brothers are alive older than he. The succession is always determined in this manner, by the public nomination during life or by the testament of the incumbent. The head priests at all the various stations of the tribe are appointed by him."

These various particulars are taken from a letter acknowledging Mr. Colebrooke's essay, which was afterwards published. It is interesting to observe with regard to this paper, that Mr. Colebrooke is as much at home while treating on the niceties of Muhammedan heresies, as upon Indian ceremonies or philosophy. But, in truth, the literature of the Muhammedans had attracted some share of his attention from time to time, though he never published anything on the subject, except this essay.

He was a good Arabic scholar, and derived assistance from his knowledge of the language while pursuing his researches in Indian astronomy and algebra. Proofs of his interest in the language and in some branches of the literature are shown in some letters from his friend Lieutenant, afterwards Colonel, Baillie, who was engaged in the composition of an Arabic Grammar, and repeatedly thanks Mr. Colebrooke for his assistance and advice in executing the laborious task, the manuscript having been submitted to Mr. Colebrooke previously to

publication. Lieut. Baillie, when employed at Lucknow, and afterwards in Bundelcund, was in correspondence with Mr. Colebrooke about the purchase of manuscripts. The subjects referred to in the letters are Arabian law, the history of some of the Bundelcund families, and Hindustáni poetry. The allusions to these subjects are of no special interest, except as being illustrative of the wide range of Mr. Colebrooke's inquiries.

Mr. Colebrooke's literary correspondence during the period when he presided over the Asiatic Society must have been extensive. Many letters are in my possession, showing the variety of subjects on which he was consulted, or on which he sought for information. But those only were kept by him which bear on special subjects of inquiry, or have survived the inevitable destruction of documents which attends frequent changes of abode. Among his correspondents at this time was Colonel Colin Mackenzie, of the Madras Engineers, whose large collection of manuscripts was examined by the late Professor Wilson, and is now, in part, in the library of the India Office. Colonel, then Captain, Mackenzie was introduced to Mr. Colebrooke by his friend Malcolm, as one zealous of antiquarian research in the south of India. Mr. Colebrooke gladly seized on the opportunity of opening a communication with the southern Brahmins on many points of literary interest. The correspondence is interesting; but the subjects discussed have been since elucidated in Mr. Colebrooke's own writings, and by later students. They refer chiefly to points of chronology connected with the Hindu dynasties of the south. But his aim in this respect is subservient to his desire to place the literary history of India on some secure foundation. He presses Captain Mackenzie, in two letters, to give him some precise information regarding the age of some legal authors whose works are in esteem in the Deccan, and also regarding Mádhava Ácharya, and his brother Sáyana, names well known in Indian literature, and whose age would be determined by

that of the kings under whom they flourished, and who are referred to in Mr. Colebrooke's letters. More serious difficulties attached and still belong to the age of Śancara, a celebrated theologian, who, judging from the legendary accounts of his followers and successors, must have given an impress to the age in which he lived. It was a time of religious ferment, marking a struggle between Brahminism and Buddhism, and again between the rival Hindu sects and the Jains, the revival of Vedic study, and probably also the composition of some of the Puráńas. All that was known of Śancara, when Mr. Colebrooke addressed himself to the subject, was that he was a native of Keral, in the Deccan; but the information procurable at Benares was both scanty and questionable. The south of India seems to have been the centre of religious activity during this epoch; and the materials collected by Captain Mackenzie, at Mr. Colebrooke's instance, have laid the foundation of much that has since been ascertained, whether as regards Śancara or the history of Indian religious controversies. At the conclusion of one of his letters Mr. Colebrooke says: "I am collecting the Hindu accounts of dynasties on this side of India. Those of Bengal and Tirhoot, as far as there are hopes of tracing them, are secured. I have found, as I hope, the clue for tracing those of Benares and Bundelkhund; and I hope we shall now obtain much information from the Rajpoots of Odeypoor and Jodhpoor. By the aid received from different quarters I trust we shall yet retrieve the genuine history of the Hindus for some centuries preceding and following the Musleman conquests in India; and, when once this portion of Indian history is cleared, we may be able to develope some genuine traces of earlier history."

Captain Mackenzie's letters are full of enthusiasm. In one, bearing date November, 1802, he writes: "The surveys and other professional duties that for several years have led me into pretty extensive journeys south of the Kistna, could not

but impress a common observer with the wish for more intimate knowledge of the peculiar traits of character, habits, and customs of the natives, and of their arts, that are so often seen. Remains of ancient cities, forts, temples, and other monuments, the distinguishing features of the country, and the ancient divisions by natural objects, or by tribes, nations, and languages, also attracted notice; frequent enquiries about these, undertaken at times to alleviate the fatigue of severe personal duties, gradually led to investigations of history, customs, etymologies of names, in which recourse was necessarily had to natives. But, with all the interest felt in the gradual development that ensued, I must own that my curiosity would have been little satisfied, had not chance thrown in my way one valuable person whose ardour and docility has compensated for my want of Hindu letters in a country where the use of six languages is necessary for communicating with the inhabitants." Captain Mackenzie's assistant was a Brahmin, possessing only a smattering of Sanscrit, but in other respects well qualified to aid his researches, and he now proposed to himself a field of inquiry, divided into separate heads, that would have exhausted a lifetime. Foremost among the subjects of interest stands his inquiry into the religion and literature of the Jains, whose sculptured remains had attracted his earliest attention. His industry was rewarded by the collection of a variety of curious and accurate information, derived principally from priests of a religion which had frequently been confounded with the Buddhist, from the agreement of their doctrines on the deification of saints, and from the supposed atheistic tendency of their tenets. This was communicated to the Asiatic Society in 1807; and Mr. Colebrooke, whose attention had also been attracted to the subject of this curious sect, and who had procured at Benares some authentic works by members of the Jain sect, added his own remarks in a separate paper. The history of this eclectic sect is full of interest; and the facts which were for

the first time established by these joint researches serve to account for the fact of their having survived the struggle which ended in the fall of Buddhism, of which sect they are generally regarded as an offset. Like them, they deny the authority of the Vedas, reject sacrifices, and show little respect for the Hindu Pantheon, worship saints, and show a respect for animal life which is evinced in the most ludicrous precautions. But as they recognize the great division of the Hindus into castes,[1] perform the same essential ceremonies from the birth of a Jain to his marriage, and even employ Brahmins in some of their ceremonies, their more flagrant heresies were passed over, and they continued to flourish after the Buddhistic heresy had passed away. In addition to the interest which belongs to Mr. Colebrooke's essay from the account it gives of their doctrines, it has a peculiar value in the history of Mr. Colebrooke's writings, as containing his matured opinion on the relative antiquity of the Buddhist and Brahmin religions. He had, indeed, expressed his views generally in his essay on the Vedas published in the previous year, but without entering into any argument to support his views. An opinion had, in the meantime, gained ground that the Brahminical superstition was of comparatively modern growth, and it was supported on plausible grounds. That the religion of Buddha was of Indian origin, and of considerable antiquity, was asserted by its votaries in neighbouring countries. Tradition, as well as the evidence of ancient monuments, showed that it had at one time prevailed extensively in India; and it was alleged that it had, in modern times, been extirpated by the persecution of the Brahmins. It was fair to contend, in the absence of other evidence, that the religion which had superseded the other was of more modern origin. Further, a supposed mention of

[1] This applies to the South of India only; and even there they do not reckon the higher castes among their votaries. In the North of India they are divided into eighty-four Gachchas or families, who are as tenacious of social distinctions as the castes of the Hindus.

Buddha in the Vedas was triumphantly referred to in proof of the inferior antiquity of her writings.[1]

Mr. Colebrooke's remarks are directed against these views, which were advanced by Dr. Francis Buchanan and other writers, and supported on other and more fanciful grounds. Though, in a certain sense, controversial, his argument is as calm and dispassionate as his other writings. He compresses into a few pages his reasons for favouring the superior antiquity of the religion of the Vedas; candidly admitting, at the same time, that such views could only be advanced, in the then state of our knowledge, as an hypothesis. Passing from conjectures to facts, he lays before the reader the most important passages from Arrian, Strabo, and other ancient writers, descriptive of the state of India when it first became known to the Greeks, and conclusively proves that many of the descriptions apply to the priests of a religion like that in the Vedas, and to none other that have been known in India: more than this he did not contend for. That the Brahminical religion prevailed extensively in India in the time of Alexander, is clearly established by this testimony, and the argument is decisive against the fanciful speculations which he was combating. Few will doubt, with the information we now possess as to the epoch of the rise of the religion of Buddha, that the followers of this sectary must have come under the observation of the Greeks; and some of their descriptions apply equally to them as to the devotees of the Brahminical faith, though the Greeks failed to discriminate between the followers of the rival sects. This is a subject which it would be out of place to pursue further. Enough has been said in illustration of the fair and candid spirit with which he discussed a subject which has so often afforded food for controversy.

The essay on the Jains appeared in 1807. In the following

[1] Such is the statement of Dr. F. Buchanan, in his essay on the religion and literature of the Burmas (Asiatic Researches, vol. 6.). He was probably misled by a passage in one of the Purán'as.

year he gave to the Asiatic Researches his well-known essay on Sanscrit and Pracrit poetry, but which would perhaps be more correctly designated as a treatise on Indian prosody or versification. So far back as January, 1801,[1] in writing to his father, he mentions having prepared an essay on the former subject; which, however, he had some hesitation about publishing. The subject is of unquestionable interest to the critical scholar, who is aided by a knowledge of the metres employed in restoring corrupt passages in manuscripts; and it should be of value to the student of a literature in which dictionaries and even ancient legal and scientific treatises are in some cases written in metre. He had, however, some misgivings, as he afterwards told his sons, about contributing to the Transactions of the Society so dry a treatise; and he sought to relieve these defects by the insertion of frequent selections from Sanscrit poetry, with some notice of the original works. His review of this branch of Indian literature is extensive; and though, in the opening paragraph he disavows any intention of treating the subject critically, or according to European standards of taste, yet in selecting passages as examples of versification, and in his remarks on the poems, he evidently aimed at interesting the reader, and conveying a general view of the character of Indian poetry. He can scarcely be said to have succeeded in his object; for the value which has since attached to the work is owing mainly to the more learned and uninviting portion; and yet his account of some of these compositions, and of their versification, is a very curious one. The nature of his task led him to give specimens, not merely of regular and rhythmical measures, but of those which result from the caprice of authors, or from intellectual trifling. We have thus specimens of alliterative measures, of transitions from one metre to another, and from poetry to prose. Some notice is given of metaphysical romances, in which the characters and incidents illustrate principles of

[1] See *ante*, p. 139.

philosophy. Still more strange is the account of poems, written with studied ambiguity, so that they narrate in the same sentences two separate and distinct legends.[1] It is not surprising that in such a literature the confines between poetry and prose are not clearly defined; and we find the writers on prosody treating on every variety of prose, from colloquial language to affected compositions in which compounded words of inordinate length are introduced, and to romances in an elevated diction suited to the taste of the age. The genius of the nation for figures is shown too in the arbitrary composition of metres irrespective of rhythm, the rules for their formation being nothing more than a calculation of the permutations which the number of syllables admit of. The result of one of these calculations, given by Mr. Colebrooke, extends to thirty-two cyphers.[2]

[1] The opening lines of the Víja-Gańita, a treatise on arithmetic and algebra, subsequently translated by Mr. Colebrooke, affords a quaint example of this effort to play on the meaning of words. Throughout the stanza the same words are employed in a threefold sense, and the distinct meanings are separately rendered in the following sentences:—"I revere the unapparent primary matter, which the *Sánchyas* declare to be productive of the intelligent principle, being directed to that production by the sentient being; for it is the sole element of all which is apparent." "I adore the ruling power, which sages conversant with the nature of soul pronounce to be the cause of knowledge, being so explained by a holy person; for it is the one element of all which is apparent." "I venerate that unapparent computation, which calculators affirm to be the means of comprehension; being expounded by a fit person; for it is the single element of all which is apparent." The play runs chiefly on the original and derivative meaning of the words *víja*, literally cause or origin, and *Sanchyá*, number.

[2] Mr. Colebrooke appends the following note to this portion of the essay:—"A mode of calculating the possible varieties of metre is also taught in the Lílávatí, a treatise of arithmetic and geometry, by Bháscara. This truly learned astronomer was also a poet; and his mathematical works are composed in highly polished metre. If the reader figure to himself Euclid in Alcaic measure, *Diophantus in anapæsts*, or the Almagest versified with all the variety of Horatian metre, he will form an adequate notion of this incongruity." It is curious that the copy of Diophantus that was afterwards in Mr. Colebrooke's possession (the edition of Bachet de Mezeriac, 1621,) contains, at the end of the fifth book, a series of arithmetical, or rather algebraic, examples in Greek verse, chiefly hexameters, with Latin versions by Bachet himself. He attributes the greater number to Metrodorus. They are to be found in the Greek Anthology. The rule in the Lílávatí here referred to is in the sixth section of the fourth chapter of Mr. Colebrooke's translation The example in prosody is of the possible

Mixed with these specimens of Indian eccentricity are many passages from classic authors, and illustrations of their poetry or drama; but they scarcely do justice to what is excellent or elevated in Indian poetry, of which we have the means of judging in the very numerous translations that are now available to the English reader. But it is the less surprising that this portion of the essay should not have attracted so much attention, when it is considered that, in this attempt to combine an account of prosody and poetry, he was very much confined in his selection, by the necessity of illustrating the poetical measures that he passed in review. It must be added, however, that he was wanting in an indispensable qualification for one who wishes to interest the general reader; he bore no affection to the subject on which he treated, and his remarks on the style of the compositions noticed by him are generally condemnatory of the false taste and extravagance with which they abound. Certainly the character of his mind was ill suited for compositions addressed to all classes. He wrote with ease and vigour, when treating on abstruse and learned subjects; but he could not readily reduce his vast stores of learning to a popular or attractive form. Of this he was himself fully aware; and he was, probably, more strongly impressed with the propriety of confining himself to the drier and unattractive parts of literature after his experience of the attempt which we have just described to popularize the prosody of the Hindus; for he pleaded his own unfitness for lighter literature in reply to a friend who urged him to translate some specimens of the Hindu theatre; and again on his return to England, when he was asked to contribute to the Edinburgh Review, he declined the invitation.

permutations of the gáyatrí metre. "The general rule," says the author, "serves in prosody, for those versed therein, to find the variations of metre; in the arts (as in architecture), to compute the changes upon apertures (of a building); and in music, the scheme of musical permutations; in medicine, the combination of different savours. For fear of prolixity this is not fully set forth."

And yet it cannot be said that he was wanting in imagination, or in appreciation of humour. He derived great enjoyment from what was high and excellent in poetry, and from works of imagination. I have rarely known a person on whom such works produced a greater impression. In his advanced years, when his eyesight failed, and he sought the assistance of readers, he resorted very largely to novels, and would become deeply interested in them. Tragic tales affected him so painfully that he generally shunned them. His taste was good and critical, perhaps too much tinged with the intellectual character of his mind; and, if I may judge from an instance he gave me, he would read poetry with the same method that he pursued any other course of reading. Thus, while suffering from a dearth of books at Nagpoor, he had recourse to a complete edition of the British poets, belonging to a friend, which he read through from beginning to end. He was indeed a perfect devourer[1] of books. Nothing came amiss to him; he amassed a large store of miscellaneous information, so that those who, in later life, sought for works to amuse him, were often impressed with the extent of his reading in lighter literature. On two occasions in India, when his stock of books, on a voyage and at remote stations, was exhausted, he applied himself to the surgeon's library, and acquired a very creditable knowledge of the general principles of surgery and medicine.

It may be of interest to add here that his habits of study were most methodical, and this offers a partial clue to his extra-

[1] I cannot refrain from giving Cicero's description of an accidental meeting with M. Cato in the villa of Lucullus, as conveying not merely an apposite picture of the combination of profound study with public avocations, but my earliest recollections of my father, as I used to see him in his library, immersed in a pile of manuscripts, *multis circumfusum Indorum libris.* "Quo cum venissem, M. Catonem, quem ibi esse nescieram, vidi in bibliothecâ sedentem, multis circumfusum Stoicorum libris. Erat enim, ut scis, in eo inexhausta aviditas legendi, nec satiari poterat: quippe qui ne reprehensionem quidem vulgi inanem reformidans, in ipsâ curiâ soleret legere sæpe, dum senatus cogeretur, *nihil operæ reipublicæ detrahens;* quo magis tum in summo otio, maximâque copiâ quasi heluari libris, si hoc verbo in tam clarâ re utendum est, videbatur.—Fin. iii. 2.

ordinary success in so many simultaneous fields of research. His powers of application in an enervating climate must have been very remarkable; but, even with the assistance of great natural powers of mind, and a most retentive memory, they must have been unavailing, had he not adopted a method and system in his work. His practice was to task himself; and he was most urgent in pressing similar rules upon his sons. When he had any literary work in hand, a certain portion of every day was resolutely devoted to it. It cost him some effort, he said, at first; but it soon became easy, and his work progressed. When he was compelled to encroach upon the night, and his brain became somewhat confused by the severity of his application, he found his reward in the morning, and the subject of his reading would be impressed on his mind.

To return from this digression to the account of his literary labours, it has been already said that he was, throughout life, devoted to physical science. Every branch of natural history attracted him, and he would say that the wonders revealed by the microscope were far more interesting than those of the telescope. To pass any time in the country was to observe, to make collections, especially of minerals and botanical specimens, and to endeavour to reduce his observations to some order and method. Of these observations he left behind an ample record in the note books which he filled at different periods of his life, and embracing every variety of subject, from science and antiquity to modern statistics.

During his residence in India, these studies served chiefly as a recreation from public duty and antiquarian research. To botany, however, which with him was an especially favourite study, he must have given considerable time. But his contributions to this science consisted chiefly in assisting the labours of others. The same remark may be made with regard to his paper on the ox of Eastern India, called the gayál. The description of the animal is given by Dr. Roxburgh and Dr. Buchanan at Mr. Colebrooke's request, and he takes especial delight in

identifying it with the ox of ancient India named in Sanscrit works. The combination of scientific and literary learning made Mr. Colebrooke's assistance to Roxburgh, Wallich, and other botanists, of especial value; and it is repeatedly acknowledged by them in their writings.[1] Mr. Colebrooke added to our knowledge of the Indian flora by his independent labours, but the assistance which was most prized was the connection of the Hindustání and Sanscrit names with the artificial system of European science.[2]

Sir William Jones laboured with great industry in this field; and a posthumous treatise on Indian plants, in which he endeavours to identify the Linnæan descriptions with the Sanscrit synonyms, was published in the Researches, after his death. The copy in my possession is covered with the manuscript annotations of his successor.

The result of these labours, besides appearing in the writings of others, is given very fully in his edition of the *Ameracósha*, and in some papers published in the Asiatic Researches, and in the Transactions of the Linnæan Society after his return to England.

[1] The eleventh volume of the Researches contains two papers, in which these acknowledgments are very warmly conveyed. Dr. Fleming, in his catalogue of medicinal plants and drugs, refers especially to the assistance he received in fixing the Hindustání and Sanscrit names, which correspond with the systematic. Dr. Roxburgh, to whose paper on monandrous plants Mr. Colebrooke added several notes, expresses his obligation in the following enthusiastic terms. He calls a plant Colebrookea, "in honour of our President, whose knowledge of botany, and the benefit the science has derived from his help, justly entitle him to this distinction, which, by all true botanists, is considered the highest reward, and more lasting than even a monument of marble or brass."

[2] Professor H. H. Wilson, in the preface to his Sanscrit Dictionary, makes some curious remarks on the proportion which botanical terms bear to the whole vocabulary of the language. "The whole extent of the Dictionary is but indifferently proportioned to a language which, it may be safely said, has no limit; and the extent will be thought still less, when it is found that it, for a great part, consists of the language of botany and mythology. For so great a portion being thus appropriated, it would be sufficient for me to say that it is the case with my originals; but there is a still better reason; and incidental reference to a deity by some of his many titles, and fanciful allusions to a flower or plant, constitute half, or more than half, of the poetry of the Hindus. Their mythology is the main structure, their botany the chief decoration, of their poetical compositions."

The account of Mr. Colebrooke's scientific labours in India would be incomplete without some allusion to his exertions to improve our geographical knowledge of the Himalaya chain, and to determine the controverted question of its vast height. The subject deserves some notice in this memoir, for it engaged his attention for many years; and, when his conclusions were disputed, he took up the cause of his favourite mountains with an eagerness that approached more nearly to controversy than anything else which came from his pen. His attention was first directed to this question during his residence at Purnea, from which station this majestic chain stretches, like an unbroken cliff, for upwards of two points of the compass, though removed at its nearest point by a distance of about 150 miles. It is singular that even Rennel, to whom we owe much for the accurate determination of the distance from which the snowy range is removed from the plains of Bengal, should have failed to perceive the connection between this geographical fact and its elevation. Travellers through Butan into Tibet had enabled him to determine, with considerable accuracy, the geographical position of some of the peaks, and establish the important fact that the snowy chain was removed by a vast tract of hill country from the plains. He contents himself merely with stating that they are visible at a distance of 150 miles; adding the remark, "I suppose them to be, in point of elevation, equal to any of the mountains of the old hemisphere."[1]

Sir William Jones, during a visit to Patna, in 1784, was the first to appreciate the importance of Rennel's premises. He records his opinion in a memorandum which was not published until after his death, to the effect that the mountains visible from that neighbourhood were "the highest in the world, *not excepting the Andes.*" The paper in question gives his reasons, founded on the geographical determination, by Mr. Davis, of the latitude of some British stations; and he con-

[1] Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, p. 302.

cludes that a particular peak must be visible at the immense distance of 244 miles. The remarks were evidently intended for the Asiatic Society; but they did not appear till 1804, in Lord Teignmouth's memoir. The opinion then expressed was probably known to Mr. Colebrooke, for in the memoir on the height of these mountains, published in 1816, he prefers no claim to originality for the views maintained by himself, expressly stating that they had been long entertained by others. He was, however, the first to attempt to decide the question by an observation. An elevated peak being observed at the estimated distance of 150 English, or about 130 geographical, miles, and with an altitude of only 1° 1′, gave for the mountain the height of 26,000 feet. So startling a result made Mr. Colebrooke the more anxious to verify his conclusion by means of a carefully-measured and adequate base; but the opportunity was not immediately afforded, as he was transferred to a station less favourably situated. On his relative Colonel Colebrooke, for many years Surveyor-General, being appointed to conduct the survey of the North-west Provinces after their cession to the British Government, he pressed the subject on his attention. Colonel Colebrooke took some observations, at his suggestion, from stations in Rohilcund, the distance of the peak observed being determined by cross angles; and they supported Mr. Colebrooke's conclusion, showing that the mountain observed was upwards of 20,000 feet in height. But the base itself was never tested by a scientific survey, and could not be relied upon with confidence. Colonel Colebrooke's attention was at this time directed to the imperfect state of our geographical knowledge with regard to the sources of the Ganges; and he proposed to engage in a survey of parts of the chain, and combine with it more accurate observations of the heights of the principal peaks. Mr. Colebrooke had his share in promoting this inquiry, and in the memoir which he afterwards published of the result of the survey, gives a very interesting account of the state of our

geographical knowledge of that region, and the results which were achieved by the survey. Our early knowledge of the geography of that part of Tibet depended on the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries in China, whose map of the empire forms, even now, the basis of our knowledge of the country. The Ganges was supposed to take its rise, like the Indus, on the north side of the chain ; and its course is described, in all maps up to that period, as traversing a long line of country before it penetrates the mountains. This account had been received with distrust by geographers, and the imperfect data on which it was formed were admitted by the Jesuits themselves. Corrections were applied to this first map by Anquetil du Perron, on the authority of a Jesuit missionary, who was supposed to have visited the country, and they were relied upon by Major Rennel. But this survey adhered to the fundamental error of assuming the northern origin of these rivers.[1] The grounds of this opinion were examined by Mr. Colebrooke with severe criticism, and he joined with his relative in concluding that the whole information on which the maps were constructed was untrustworthy, and that the subject deserved to be taken up by the British Government. Colonel Colebrooke was preparing to undertake the survey in person ; but failing health led him to give it up, and the task devolved on his able assistant, Lieutenant Webb, an officer who laboured long, and with great industry and success, in this branch of the service. Lieutenant Webb communicated to Mr. Colebrooke the results of the survey, in the course of which he completely established

[1] It is singular that this erroneous opinion should have been so long maintained; for, Gangoutrí being a place of sancity and pilgrimage, accurate information on this point at least should have been procurable. But Major Wilford, with whom Mr. Colebrooke corresponded on this and other geographical points bearing on his inquiries, describes, in an unpublished letter, the pilgrims as returning so ignorant of matters of geographical interest as to render their statements worthless. Major Wilford, being long engaged in geographical investigations connected with the ancient geography of the valleys of the Ganges and Indus, was occasionally consulted by Mr. Colebrooke with regard to any known itineraries in the mountains, and generally with regard to the literary information extant.

the soundness of the general views maintained as to the Indian origin of the Ganges; and Mr. Colebrooke, in laying before the Asiatic Society, in 1810, Lieutenant Webb's letter, and a journal of Captain Raper who accompanied him, gives a short and interesting review of the whole question.

Lieutenant Webb's success in measuring the heights of the elevated peaks of the chain was not, on this occasion, so great as in improving our knowledge of the geography of the country. He took great pains with this part of the object of his survey; and the results of his observations corroborated in a very striking manner the former measurements. Unfortunately, however, this survey was conducted with some haste, the jealousy of the Goorkha government not permitting a leisurely-conducted survey; and, as the longitudes were deduced from itineraries regulated by time, the basis of his calculations was of no scientific value for the decision of a question of so much nicety. Mr. Webb was, however, shortly afterwards placed in a position of even greater advantage. During a scientific survey of Góráckpúr, in which he was engaged, he took the opportunity of measuring one of the most conspicuous peaks seen from the plains of Oudh, from four stations, whose positions were carefully determined; and he communicated the details of his calculations to Mr. Colebrooke. About the same time the latter was placed in possession of another set of observations carried on by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, during a residence in Catmandhu, in 1802, in the course of which he was enabled to carry out a trigonometrical survey of part of the valley of Nepal, founded on two bases of 852¾ and 1,582 feet, respectively. Several of the highest peaks were measured from selected points, and at distances not exceeding 35 miles. These two sets of observations were deemed by Mr. Colebrooke to supply the requisite evidence; and he laid them before the Society in 1814. His memoir on the subject formed the last of his contributions to these transactions, as he left India immediately afterwards. In it he gives the accumulated evidence

by which he and many others were led to the belief in the vast height of these mountains; but he claims the assent of others only on the grounds afforded by the last two sets of observations, which, it may be added, brought out measurements of particular peaks varying from 22,000 to 27,000 feet.

Such startling conclusions could not fail to excite suspicion and invite criticism. The determination of heights, measured at distances varying from 35 to 102, and in one case 135 miles, required careful and repeated observations to eliminate errors arising from refraction. The observations of Colonel Crawford appeared at first sight very promising; but Mr. Colebrooke evidently placed his principal reliance on those of Webb; and the table he drew up of the height of the mountain Dhawalagiri, deduced from the data supplied to him by the latter, making every possible allowance for refraction, is a very remarkable one—the extreme difference between the results of the various observations amounting only to from 300 to 400 feet in those cases in which the allowance for refraction recommended by Mr. Colebrooke was employed. But Mr. Colebrooke had the highest confidence in Webb, and had satisfied himself, by trial, of the excellence of the instruments employed on the survey.

The sole remaining element of uncertainty—that existing from refraction—was only to be overcome by repeated observations from which to deduce a mean; and it was on this part of the calculation that objectors took their stand in contesting the soundness of his conclusions. It was contended that the observations of Webb and Crawford were not sufficient in number to found conclusions as to elevation where the measured arcs were so small. Although the accuracy of the data supplied to Mr. Colebrooke was strikingly confirmed by subsequent surveys, and in no point more so than in regard to the allowance made for refraction, it may be admitted that there was fair ground for demanding further inquiry before a question of such nicety could be admitted as concluded. The tone of the criticism to which he and his friends were exposed, even

more than the criticism itself, roused him, as it did Captain Webb, to further exertions.[1] The opportunity was soon afforded.

The close of the war with Nepal in 1816 threw the country open to the researches of science. Captain Webb was appointed to the survey of Kemaon, and in the following year laid before the public a detailed report of the measurement of upwards of two hundred elevated positions, including clusters of the most elevated peaks in the range; amply confirming the estimate of their heights formerly maintained by him. Mr. Colebrooke gave a short account of the survey to the Quarterly Journal of Science, in which he enters into full details as to its scientific nature, and the precautions taken in the use of the instruments to secure accuracy. Up to this

[1] The sharpest criticism to which he was exposed proceeded from the Quarterly Review. The labours of Moorcroft and Webb, to improve our geographical knowledge of the snowy range and Tibet, are discussed in a sarcastic tone, which gave them some annoyance. Mr. Colebrooke could afford to laugh at some of the remarks of the reviewer many years afterwards, when he had established his position; but the effect of the review on Webb is described by him in a letter to Mr. Colebrooke, which was published. The number of the Review was received by him at the temple of Kedârnâth, a religious shrine in the higher Himalaya, which had never before been visited by an European. The reviewer having flippantly attributed to common indisposition the sensation of palpitation and difficulty of breathing which Moorcroft experienced at one of the highest passes leading to Tibet—sensations which are commonly felt by those who ascend the loftiest mountains—Webb resolved to proceed to the pass in question, and combat the reviewer on his own ground; and his remarks on the effect of this atmosphere on different persons exposed to it are of some interest. With regard to the reviewer's attack on himself, Webb justly complains of its unfairness, but, in a truly philosophic spirit, he resolved to refute his assailant in the most effective way, by renewing all his elaborate calculations. There is an interesting memoir of the services of Captain Webb in the Quarterly Journal of Science for 1819. He began his career in the navy, under "the gallant, good Riou," with whom he sailed on two or three cruises, and who advised Webb to take advantage of an opening that was offered to him in the Indian military service. His industry and mathematical talents brought him into notice during the war of 1804, and he became Col. Colebrooke's assistant in 1806, and continued his work after his death. His survey of the Himalaya was the work of two or three years, and demanded not merely abilities and scientific acquirements but great physical labour and untiring energy. Captain Webb was, indeed, a most enthusiastic geographer. His memoir on the survey of Kemaon will be found in the 13th volume of the Asiatic Researches.

time the survey was entirely trigonometrical; the heights of inaccessible peaks being determined from more than one triangle, and the mean of the different results given. No less than eight of Captain Webb's barometers were destroyed, owing to the physical difficulties he encountered in the early part of his travels. The corroboration of his measurements was afterwards supplied by the latter instruments; but this was scarcely necessary, for the triumph of the old world over the new was already established. Mr. Colebrooke, however, followed up his success by a further paper on the measurement of the Dhawalagiri, which was supplied to him by Captain Blake, who was appointed to the survey of Górackpúr, and repeated the observations of Webb, with singular agreement of results. They differed from those of his predecessor by from 27 to 63 feet only.

The interest which Mr. Colebrooke took in the survey of this chain did not cease with the part taken by him in establishing their height. He contributed papers on the geology of the Sutlej to the Asiatic and Geological Societies, and another on the limit of perpetual snow on the higher range, in which he was the first to point out the necessary correction of the theories maintained, up to that time, as to the variation of the snow-line according to latitude, a subject which attracted considerable attention, especially from the veteran geographer, Humboldt. This account of the contributions made by Mr. Colebrooke to geographical discovery has been given thus fully on account of the great interest he took in its progress. The share he had in first drawing prominent attention to the subject, in assisting those who were labouring in the cause, in giving the results to the world, and in finally establishing the fame of the Himalaya, was to him the source of constant satisfaction. "I call them my mountains" he would say in a tone almost of affection.

CHAPTER IX. 1810—1815.

Supplementary Digest—Translations of Treatises on Inheritance—Seat in Council—Marriage and Return to England.

The triumph of the old world over the new, recounted in the last chapter, was not finally achieved until many years after Mr. Colebrooke's return to England. In order to give a connected account of his literary and scientific labours in India, I have been compelled to deviate occasionally from a strictly chronological rule. I must now revert to some important incidents connected with his official career.

Though by taste and pursuits a man of science and letters, he bore unflinchingly the onerous duties of his office. Those who knew him in India have informed me that the sittings of the Court were heavy, and sometimes absorbed his whole time. But in truth he was as enthusiastic in his labours as a lawyer as in determining abstruse questions in Indian literature. The supplement to the Digest of Hindu Law was no ordinary undertaking. He proposed to recast the whole title of Inheritance, so imperfectly treated in the Digest which he translated, and supplement it with a series of compilations on the several heads of Criminal Law, Pleading, and Evidence, as treated by Indian jurists. In a letter to Sir Thomas Strange, which will be found in a later chapter of this Life, it is stated that the Sanscrit text was complete, and the translation was considerably advanced. The original text is not in my possession; but the latter statement is borne out by the large materials which he had collected on the heads of Inheritance and Testimony, much of which is reduced to order, and might have been soon made ready for the press. On the Criminal Law of

the Hindus I find no trace of his labour. He attached no importance to this branch of his task. It was obviously one of antiquarian interest only, as its rules had never been accepted as authority by our administration. We found the code of the Muhammedans in full force in the extensive province of Bengal. Its principles were at an early period adapted to our own views by a technical process, leading ultimately to an authoritative promulgation of British principles.[1] The Hindu rules of special pleading, though commended by Sir William Jones, are also matters of literary interest only, as the British regulations had, from the time of Lord Cornwallis, established rules for our Courts, which gradually assumed the shape of a body of technical law, and which could not conveniently be superseded, except by legislative authority.

The Hindu law of Inheritance stands on a different footing. This branch of law is in India, as in other countries, to some extent arbitrary in its principles; but being interwoven with the civil and religious life of the people, and varying in different provinces, it has been the aim of our judicature to give the fullest effect to its rules. It was the object of Mr. Colebrooke's compilation to remedy the most glaring defects in the Digest, in not sufficiently discriminating between the different

[1] This was the work of Warren Hastings, and formed a necessary part of the complete assumption of the Government of Bengal. For many years after the cession to the East India Company of the *Dewany*, or financial administration, to which alone the rulers of the province attached importance, the *Foujdaree*, or criminal administration, was invested chiefly, if not wholly, in native officials, and the most barbarous punishments were resorted to, even in the vicinity of Calcutta. Of this an instance was related to the writer of this memoir, to which his uncle was an accidental witness. The death of torture was borne by the criminals (*dacoits*) with characteristic apathy. They smoked to the last, each in turn handing over the native pipe to his companion as he was summoned by the executioner. The law of retaliation, which forms a distinguishing feature of the criminal code of the Muhammedans, had a strong hold of the popular imagination. Hence, probably, the cautious way in which it was gradually superseded. A striking instance of an appeal to its principles occurred to my uncle at an early stage of our administration. A man and his wife were charged with murder. The latter was supposed to have instigated her husband to the deed. The widow of the murdered man thus addressed the bench, "She has made me a widow; make her one."

schools of law. When, therefore, the engrossing nature of his other pursuits led him to abandon this work, he rendered an equal, perhaps greater, service to students by presenting them with translations of two important treatises representing the views of schools or systems of law which divide India. This work was published in 1810, with a preface giving his reasons for preferring these treatises to a more elaborate digest.[1]

His labours, however, did not rest here. On another and equally important branch of law, which is comprised in Jagannátha's Digest, that of Contracts, he must have been early impressed with the necessity of supplying a better and more authoritative exposition of sound principles than are contained in that work. It was, indeed, impossible to be engaged in the practical administration of the law, without perceiving more serious defects than could be referred to the faults of the compiler. In the preface to his translations of the treatises on Inheritance, he does, indeed, remark very justly that "in the law of contracts, the rules of decision observed in the jurisprudence of different countries are, in general, dictated by reason and good sense; and rise naturally, though not always obviously, from the plain maxims of equity and right." The principles laid down by Indian jurists have been repeatedly declared by the highest authorities[2] to be founded on princi-

[1] It may be of interest to state that of the two elaborate works on law, the Digest and the translations of the treatises on Inheritance, his mature judgment led him to attach greater value to the latter. When he had it under consideration, a few years before his death, to publish all his works, or some selected portions only, he made inquiries as to the extent of the demand for his legal works. He was informed that there was an occasional demand for the Digest, but not for the work on Inheritance. This was to him a matter of surprise and regret.

[2] I refer more particularly to the opinions of Macnaghten and Strange in the chapters of their works which treat of contracts. Sir Lawrence Peel, in the discussions which took place in 1845, on the expediency of extending the English law of contracts to the *Mufussil* makes the following remark in support of his view: "The English law as to contracts, the most fruitful source of litigation, is so much in harmony with the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws as to contracts, that it very rarely happens in our Courts, which are bound to administer to Hindoos and Mahomedans their respective laws as to contracts, that any question arises on the law peculiar to those people in actions on contracts."

ples of equity and good sense. An excellent compendium of those portions of the law which are peculiar to the Hindu law, or coincident with our own, will be found in Strange's treatise, and it certainly bears out the commendation of the learned writer. We should arrive at the same conclusion if we looked no further than to the dicta or maxims of the ancient writers, which form the basis of this branch of law. But these rules cover but a small portion of this field of jurisprudence, and the ancient *rishis* or *munis* are not relied upon as conclusive guides, except when interpreted by schoolmen of a later age. It is well known that the legal institutes of the Hindus embrace other matters than those which are properly matters of forensic controversy. Rules of observance for the different castes, expiative and ethical precepts, are included in the general titles, and not sufficiently distinguished from the civil code; and the mode of treatment these subjects have undergone at the hands of the scholastic authorities representing different schools of interpretation and authority, has rather tended to perplex what was originally sound and clear.

In such a state of the law the pundits who were attached to the tribunals, whenever they were trusted with the interpretation of any legal question, exercised a somewhat dangerous power.[1] They were thus regarded with distrust by English

[1] Sir William Macnaghten, in the Introduction to his Principles of Hindu Law, dwells at some length on the dangerous facility with which the pundits could mislead the Court by citing genuine, but irrelevant, texts. "I apprehend," he says, "the Hindu law, in its pure and original state, does not furnish many instances of uncertainty or confusion. The speculations of commentators have done much to unsettle it, and the venality of pundits has done more." . . . "It may seem harsh and unjust to pass an indiscriminate censure upon any body of men; but while I admit that there are not wanting among them individuals of unimpeachable honesty and profound erudition, I am still of opinion that to the pundits is chiefly attributable this perplexity of the system which it is their province to expound." I do not pretend to measure the degree in which the commentators or the pundits are severally responsible for the perplexity which is complained of. Confining my remarks to that portion of the law which is referred to above, it may be affirmed that if it were well sifted, and those portions only were retained which are clear and precise, and bear strictly on legal obligations, the result would be a very meagre code.

judges, who were not required by statute (as in the Supreme Court), nor by the regulation of the Government, to be guided by the rules of Hindu law; and the Indian code of Contracts, such as it was, never acquired any authority, except in cases where it had any bearing on the law of Inheritance, or on some special and generally recognized usage.

Mr. Colebrooke, during the latter portion of his judicial service, was a very diligent student of the civil law. I think it probable that he entered on the study at an early stage of his connection with the bench, for the work he undertook could not readily have proceeded from one who had not been long familiar with its principles. Failing in his hope of seeing our tribunals supplied with a complete body of law from Indian sources, another and higher aspiration took its place, that of alluring the service to that great fountain of jurisprudence. With a view to this, he commenced a treatise on the whole law of Obligations and Contracts, taking the Roman code for his guide, but distinguishing those portions on which European or Indian jurists have established any diversity of practice. In preparing the work he placed great reliance on the works of French writers, especially Pothier, by whose arrangement he was guided in his treatment of the subject. The first part of the work was not completed till after his return to Europe. The second portion was considerably advanced; but he received very little encouragement to pursue his task. The work is perhaps too succinct, and it is wanting in practical examples and illustrations. It met with little attention on the part of that body of the Indian service for which it was specially intended; but it remains at once a monument of the industry of the compiler and a proof of his devotion to the public service to which he was attached.[1]

[1] While engaged on this memoir, I have read with the greatest interest the second report of the Commissioners appointed to prepare a body of substantive law for India which treats on the subject of contracts. One is naturally prompted to ask, why was not a similar exposition of lucid principles prepared long ago? The want of an authoritative code has been felt ever since the establishment of

This account of Mr. Colebrooke's legal labours would be incomplete without mentioning the assistance he gave to Sir Thomas Strange, late Chief Justice at Madras, in his elementary work on Hindu law. It was the first attempt to compose a text book on the subject in the spirit of an English jurist. The work originated in the collection of a mass of opinions delivered by pundits in the Madras courts. They were submitted to the consideration of Mr. Colebrooke, and to his nephew, Mr. Sutherland, the translator of a standard work on Adoption, and to Mr. Ellis, a distinguished member of the Madras service. These *responsa prudentum* constituted, in Sir Thomas Strange's opinion, so valuable a collection that he decided on publishing them. But the work grew on his hands, and became a treatise on Hindu law, founded on the sources then available, and enriched by Mr. Colebrooke's notes and those of his contemporaries. The correspondence with Mr. Colebrooke, which is in my possession, extends over

Mofussil Courts, whose judges have been left, (as stated by the Commissioners,) to a great extent, without the guidance of any positive law beyond the rule that their decision shall be such as they deem to be in accordance with justice, and equity, and good conscience. The laxity and confusion which must arise from such a state of things must be apparent to any one who will reflect how diverse is the practice of different countries, even in those branches of law which are not warped by local prejudices or customs. Arguing from the same general principles of equity, different codes have laid down different rules to enforce or qualify the rigour of acknowledged principles. There are many cases where it is immaterial which rule is followed, but it is most important that the law should be defined and known. The tardiness with which this boon has been conferred on India is very remarkable. Something may be attributed to the hope which Sir William Jones fostered, that light would come from the East, and that the legal literature of the Hindus would supply the want. More, perhaps, was owing to the distrust which all laymen, and especially Indian officials, at that time felt for English law and English lawyers. Mr. Colebrooke, groping about for light, turned to the Roman law, and urged its study on his son when he was proceeding to India. The law of England, he considered, was law in disguise; it must be stripped of its technicalities before it could be made the subject of study. It is a remarkable sequel to his labours, that the Commission now sitting should take the law of England for its basis, deviating boldly from its rules, or borrowing freely from the codes of other nations, wherever they recognized a sounder or simpler rule. But English law and English lawyers have undergone a great change since the period of which I am treating. A work such as this code could not have been produced by English lawyers at the beginning of the present century.

many years, and is almost voluminous. I cannot refrain from quoting Sir Thomas Strange's acknowledgments in the preface to the work: "Of the 'remarks' that have been alluded to, the principal in number and value are Mr. Colebrooke's; conveying, in most instances, not only his strictures on the points referred and opinions reported, but references also to printed authorities in support of his observations, or of the answer of the Pandit. They were, without any previous personal acquaintance, through the medium of a common friend, solicited at an early period, with a view to individual satisfaction only, not to publication; and, immersed as Mr. Colebrooke was at the time in official duties of the highest importance, they were returned from Calcutta with a readiness, a frequency, and a liberality as to the use to be made of them, that, under circumstances at all alike, cannot often have been paralleled, and can never have been surpassed. Such comity casts a lustre about learning that doubles its merit. Of the magnitude of the service thus rendered,—to every one in the slightest degree occupied in Hindu jurisprudence, it must be sufficient to have said of the 'Remarks' to which it applies, that they are Mr. Colebrooke's."

A very important event in Mr. Colebrooke's public life remains still to be related. It may be remembered that in one of the last quoted letters, addressed to his father in 1806, he describes himself as looking forward to his return to England in another year or two, with a fortune sufficient for his moderate wants, and with the hope of devoting himself exclusively to a life of study. These plans of immediate retirement were interrupted by his elevation to a seat in Council in 1807, and still more by his marriage three years later.

It may be conjectured that the expressions of indifference as to any further promotion, which appear in some of his letters, were used rather to check the injudicious zeal of his relatives, and are not to be taken as indicating any aversion to this accession of dignity and emolument. Though resolved never

to solicit promotion, he certainly valued his new position, and felt a becoming pride in this recognition of his public services.

It may be unnecessary to explain that the duties of an Indian Councillor at this time embraced every act of administration. As all measures, legislative as well as executive, extending even to appointments to the public service, were passed in Council, every member had an opportunity, and indeed was enjoined, to record his opinions or dissent. It is obvious that such an office might, and in many instances has become, a comparative sinecure, and the amount of labour undertaken must in all cases depend on the industry or public zeal of the members. Mr. Colebrooke took his full share in the responsibilities of his new office. Some of his minutes have been published in the selections from the Indian records of that period, and refer chiefly, as might be supposed, to the departments of internal administration with which he had been connected during so large a portion of his career.

But, in addition to the work of reviewing the general administration of the Government, he had to take a share in the judicial labours of the Court over which he continued to preside, one of the members of the Council being *ex officio* member of the Court. Some portion of his time was regularly devoted to sittings in Court, and the fruits of his labours appear in its published reports.

He entered on his new office shortly after Lord Minto's accession to the Government; and the five years' term to which a seat in Council is, by the rules of the service, usually restricted, corresponded very nearly with that nobleman's administration. This period of our history is described by some writers and politicians as one of dangerous inaction, and exhibiting the failure of a neutral system of policy as applied to the native states of India. It cannot, however, be denied that the pacific administration of Lord Minto, for such was its character on the continent of India, while full of vigour in its attack on the remaining strongholds of the French in the Eastern

seas, was highly favourable to the development of the resources of this great Empire. Its finances were restored during this breathing time of peace, and public attention was more than ever drawn to questions of administrative reform; and the great principles underlying our judicial and revenue administration underwent a full and practical discussion, preparing the way for later reforms.

Mr. Colebrooke had certainly considerable influence in the Council, and it showed itself in some of the principal acts of the internal administration. It is easy to trace his influence in the measures recommended by the Governor-General for the advancement of Oriental learning. It was proposed to found Hindu colleges at Nuddeea and Tirut; and schemes were in contemplation to give similar aid for the cultivation of the literature of the Muhammedans. More important aid was perhaps afforded to Asiatic literature by the encouragement which was given to the Serampore mission in their publication of grammars and other rudimentary works, to which the British Government liberally contributed.

Some of the public measures in which Mr. Colebrooke took a share are of historical interest, but it would be difficult to convey an adequate view of them within the limits of this memoir; and it would scarcely interest the reader to follow, in their details, questions of the highest importance in their day, but superseded in the progress of administration by new views and measures. Systems of policy have little stability in a country where the public service is in such rapid transition, and is governed by men who are young as compared with European standards of official age. In such a government every successive set of functionaries are too apt to regard the measures of the generation immediately preceding them as old-fashioned and superannuated. Something of this fate belongs to the discussions connected with the Revenue settlements of the North-west Provinces, after they fell under British administration.

Proclamations had been issued, after our accession to the Government in 1802 and 1805, pledging the Government to extend to such lands, as should be in a fair state of cultivation, the same permanence of settlement which had been in operation in Bengal and Behar since 1793. These general promises were followed up, in 1807, by a more distinct pledge in a legislative act, subject only to the approval of the Government at home. Some misgivings seem to have been entertained as to the precipitation with which these promises had been given, and the whole question was re-opened by the revenue commissioners of these provinces, specially appointed for the purpose in 1808. When the question came under the consideration of the Government in 1808, and again in 1812, Mr. Colebrooke took up, with great energy, the cause of the memorable settlement of Lord Cornwallis, to which he had contributed at the beginning of his career; and in two powerful minutes, which will be found in the Revenue Selections of that period, he reviewed its effects, morally as well as financially, on the well-being of those provinces.

Although the question as regards the north-west of India was primarily one of good faith, the discussion turned mainly upon the merits or failure of the measures of 1793. They were now very much discredited. Their failure to secure the rights of many classes connected with the land had led some of our Indian statesmen to discredit them equally as questions of finance or social economy. A great transfer of property had certainly taken place in the ten years which succeeded the settlement. Many of the great Zemindars had been ruined, and the rights of the ryots were either wholly sacrificed or imperfectly secured. These violent revolutions, which discredited our Government, were attributed to the settlement, rather than, as Mr. Colebrooke thought, to administrative blunders. In the face of the evidence which was set up of the failure of this settlement to secure the rights of the classes connected with the land, it was in vain to plead, as Mr. Cole-

brooke did, in favour of some abnegation of the proprietary rights of the Sovereign, as conducive to the permanent interests of the country. His view, though supported by his colleagues at Calcutta, found no favour at home, and the permanency of the settlement was nominally deferred, but indefinitely postponed.

While Mr. Colebrooke held a seat at the Council Board, the attention of the Government was, for the first time, seriously directed to the question of the suppression of suttee, or immolation of widows at the funeral piles of their husbands; and his views are well known to have guided the Government in the course they adopted. The opinions of the judges of the *Sudder* were taken on the subject, and it was deemed, by the Government, dangerous to attempt to forbid, by authority, these horrid sacrifices. A middle course was adopted, authorizing the police to interfere in cases of pregnancy, and requiring them, in every instance, to ascertain that the sacrifice was by the free consent of the widow. This measure failed in stopping the practice of suttee in any appreciable degree, while it was open to the objection that it gave a legislative sanction to the practice. Mr. Colebrooke used to vindicate the course taken by the Government, on the ground that any attempt to suppress by law a practice sanctioned by their religion would be met by resistance, and that it would become a point of honour to persevere. Subsequent events have shown that the practice of suttee had no solid root in the religious creed of the Hindus; and it was suppressed by Lord William Bentinck without difficulty or danger; but it should in justice be added, that the way was prepared gradually for this important act by tentative measures; and the suppression of human sacrifices, in more than one instance, was easily effected; as, for example, in forbidding these practises at Sagar Island,[1] and the interference with the self-immolation of pilgrims at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna.[2]

[1] See note, p. 188.

[2] The latter was due to Mr. Alexander Colvin, late judge of the Sudder al Allahabad. He suppressed the practice, while magistrate at that station, without any authority from the Government, and his success was signal and complete,

One other subject connected with Mr. Colebrooke's labours as a Councillor seems deserving of attention, because it is characteristic of the relations between the Home Government and its Indian servants, at that time; and it gave him some annoyance when his term of office was coming to a close. The financial measures of Lord Minto's administration were of considerable importance and complication. The attempts to reduce the heavy charges of interest on debts incurred by Lord Wellesley's warlike policy had led to the transfer of part of the debt to England, and advantage was taken of this offer to such an extent, as to cause unusual demands on the home treasury. These and some other sources of financial embarrassment caused an application on the part of the Company to the administration for assistance, at the very time when the affairs of the Company were undergoing a severe scrutiny on the part of the two Houses of Parliament, when their commercial privileges were at stake, and when it was of the highest importance that their finances should be in a sound condition. The demands on the Indian treasury had been for several years greater than could be supplied by the ordinary channels of commerce, and remittances of bullion had been accordingly large. When, however, we engaged in the expedition to Java, the double strain on the Indian treasury proved too severe, and the Indian Government came to the unanimous resolution to hold their hands, and withhold some part of the remittances so earnestly pressed for in England. Though it does not appear that Mr. Colebrooke had taken any prominent part in these discussions, yet, as he had always taken an interest in financial questions, and was known to have considerable influence with the Governor-General, the indignation of the Direc-

the only objecting party being a woman, who owned the boat which conveyed the victims to the sacred spot. Her remonstrances against this interference with her trade were pertinacious, she besieged Mr. Colvin's doors for months, and made her appeal to higher authorities, who rejected her petition for relief on being assured by Mr. Colvin that she was the only malcontent. This incident was given by Mr. Colvin to me while residing at the same station in India.

tors fell more particularly upon him; and though the censure of the Government in their despatch notifying their displeasure was general, it was privately intimated to Mr. Colebrooke's friends that he and Mr. Lumsden were more particularly obnoxious to the authorities in Leadenhall Street; while some went so far as to hold out the undignified threat that his successor to the Council would be appointed before the usual term of five years should expire. When public officers are out of favour, it is easy to accumulate occasions for censure. Mr. Colebrooke had a full share in advising the Government in their memorable attempt to impose a house-tax on the great towns in Bengal, which was defeated by the passive resistance of the population of Benares. The history of this first attempt to derive revenue from other sources than were recognized by the custom of former Governments, is a curious chapter in Indian finance; and though it failed at the time, it will scarcely meet with condemnation in an age which has witnessed such successful efforts to introduce far more sweeping changes in finance. However this may be, the Directors were very angry, and Mr. Colebrooke felt very keenly the unjust treatment to which he was exposed for the honest advice he had given to the Government on this important question; and he took particular pains to set himself right with public men at home, by sending some of the principal documents bearing on those questions to some of his friends at home, among others to Mr. Thomas Cockburn and Mr. Robert Smith.[1]

The details would have no interest for the reader, and they are only thus briefly alluded to as part of Mr. Colebrooke's life. It is mortifying for his biographer to have to record that the close of a distinguished service of nearly thirty years, should have been marked by such unworthy treatment on the part of the Home Government. A single letter addressed to Mr. Cockburn on these topics will perhaps be read with interest as expressing the feelings he entertained:—

[1] The father of the present Lord Lyveden.

"*Calcutta, November 20th*, 1812.

"DEAR COCKBURN,

"While I was writing to you, in the confidence of having merited to stand well with the Court of Directors, suggesting various plans, if not for my advancement, at least for the option of remaining a year or two in India eligibly and creditably, towards the accomplishment of which object I solicited your aid, a storm was, it seems, brewing in Leadenhall Street, which has burst on the heads of Mr. Lumsden and of me. Your letters of the 8th April, and 4th and 29th May, which reached me yesterday, confirm the impression I had received from letters I had before seen, as to the causes of the Court's proceedings, both the ostensible grounds of our removal and the avowed motives and the secret springs of it. Whatever share those secret motives may have had in producing this result, the avowed ones rest on a judgment very erroneous, which some leading members of the Court have formed as to the line of conduct which it was the duty of the Government to pursue in regard to remittances to Europe. I was not unapprized of this when I wrote by the *Modeste*; but, intending at that time to have embarked in one of the ships of the first fleet, I thought it unnecessary to trouble my friends on the subject, as I should be at home so soon after my letters. By very unexpected circumstances I remain behind. A disagreement concerning the terms of the passage I wished to have taken was followed, on my breaking off the treaty, by the threat of a lawsuit, which proceeded to the length of retaining counsel on both sides. I believe no suit will be brought, though still threatened; but the discussion was attended with circumstances which rendered it necessary to declare the relinquishment of the intention of embarking in the present fleet.

"As I must now stay beyond the time to which my continuance in the Council extends, and consequently undergo the mortification of being for a while in the situation of ex-

Councillor, I think it advisable to prolong my stay a few months more, to arrange my affairs more satisfactorily than would be done at the present period, which is particularly unfavourable to the requisite operation of transferring one's property with one's person from this country to England. It is therefore likely that I may stay, not merely till the second fleet, but till a second season. I wish, therefore, to put you in possession of my justification on the points which are understood to have excited the Court of Directors' displeasure.

"You will find it in the inclosed minute, recorded by me at the beginning of last September. I annexed to it an extract from a more recent Report of the Accountant-General, which contains matter that entirely confirms the view I took last year of the Company's financial affairs in India. If the Government be now able to make the remittances which are called for, it is because the general result in India is more than ninety lacs—£1,200,000—better than estimate. Under the high degree of probability which existed that the expedition to Java would occupy two campaigns in place of one, the general result was to be expected to be as much worse than estimate as it has proved to be better. Even under the sanguine anticipation of the earliest termination of the war, by the most brilliant victories, or the readiest submission of the enemy, still we had to apprehend, from very recent experience at Mauritius, that the estimate before framed might not provide for the burdensome expenses ensuing on its surrender; and it was certainly to be expected (though it has happily turned out otherwise) that Java might prove an equal burden beyond previous estimate during the first period that followed its reduction.

"Let the state of the Finances be conceived £2,000,000 worse, instead of as much better than estimate, and suppose large remittances of bullion to have meantime been made to Europe, I would ask what in such case would have been the present condition of the finances? and what censure should I

not have merited for being one to adopt measures of such a tendency in opposition to the forcible representations and decided opinion of the Accountant-General, our official adviser on matters of finance?

"Even as it is, the Funds actually are at a heavy and increasing discount; and were the Government at this moment in urgent need of supplies, as would have been the case had affairs taken the course which was most probable, and bullion been nevertheless sent, recourse must now have been had to a high rate of interest to raise but scanty supplies; and this revival of the old rate of interest would have been attended with a depreciation of the present Funds, which would fall, like the old Six Per Cents. (when a former attempt was made to lower the interest), to a discount of 20 or 25 per cent.

"But though we could not send the Court remittances at the time, and in the mode they desired, our operations have in fact furnished supplies to the home concern to the extent of not less than 20,000,000 rupees beyond their estimated amount, or twice as much as the Court of Directors called for in bullion, as you will find in the twenty-second paragraph of the Accountant-General's recent Report.

"It is absurd to pretend that the postponement of a remittance of £500,000 in bullion was the cause of compelling the Company to have recourse to Parliament for aid. Had that or twice as much been sent, the necessity would have still existed, nor could it have had any material effect on the Court's negotiations for the renewal of the Company's charter, which is met by difficulties originating from quite other causes, and which no flourishing state of the treasury would obviate. I observe in the language of some of the Directors, as cited to me, a distinction taken of the measure with which they are dissatisfied, being mine or Mr. Lumsden's, and that which they would have been better pleased with being Lord Minto's. The fact is, I had just as much share in the one as the other. When public affairs seemed to permit it, I pro-

posed that bullion should be remitted; when it was officially reported that the finances would be most seriously embarrassed, and perhaps irretrievably so, by persisting in the measure, I concurred in relinquishing it.

"You will find in the eighteenth paragraph of the same Report of the Accountant-General, a most satisfactory justification of another measure, which I understand has displeased the Court of Directors. By that measure a remittance, which must and would at all events have been made through the Company, has been so by bills drawn at the beginning of the year, which need not be paid before the lapse of four years, instead of bills drawn six months later, but payable in a twelvemonth, and at a rate of exchange more disadvantageous to the Company by 6⅔ per cent.

"A third point has been hinted at as matter of offence, namely, our concurrence in the establishment of the house-tax in towns and cities. It comes with ill grace from the Court of Directors, to visit with punishment the manifestation of zeal for the improvement of the Company's resources. But as you have alluded to the subject in one of your former letters, to which I deferred replying, expecting to have conveyed my answer in person, I will now advert to it.

"I inclose an original document, containing the first proposition for its establishment, with a memorandum concurring in it by a member of the Council of Finance, whose hand and initials you will recognize, and who is as much in the Court's good graces as I am in their ill. You will there see the grounds of the measure. It was proposed at a period (in 1808–9) when the state of the finances appeared urgently to need all possible aid. Owing to delays, however, the Report of the Committee was before the Court of Directors long enough before the measure was here carried into effect, for them to have countermanded it if they judged it to be inexpedient; in fact, the measure was not one which had any right to meet with opposition, as containing anything obnoxious to known preju-

dices of the people, or offending against their manners and habits, nor did the resistance originate in any such feeling; but, avowedly, on the specific ground of denying the right of the British Government to impose taxes. Any other direct tax would have met, and will meet, with the same resistance. I cannot think my colleagues or myself were blameable for not knowing that such was the people's disposition; it must some day have been put to the test, and as well now as at any other time.

"I must beg that these papers, some, originals of which I have retained in transcripts, others of which I have no copies, may be preserved for me, and meantime be considered as confidential communications. I would wish you to send them with this letter to my friend, the late Advocate-General, for his perusal; and when returned to you by Mr. Smith, I will beg that the extract from the Accountant-General's Report may not be shown to any other person. As I have more right over the rest of the documents, you may make any use of them you think proper for my vindication, in any quarter you may judge necessary or expedient. I do not, however, desire to vindicate myself with a view of restoration to a situation of eminence. If unforeseen losses should oblige me to remain in India, beyond this time twelvemonth, I would rather remain in a subordinate post under the Indian Government, than be again exposed to the Court's caprice.

"Yours faithfully,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

It will be observed by the preceding letter that his thoughts were now turned homeward. The desire to return to England was increased by the change that had taken place in his domestic circumstances. Early in 1810 he met at the house of his friend, Mr. Robert Smith, then Advocate-General, his future wife, Miss Elizabeth Wilkinson. After the death of her father, who had left a numerous family in somewhat

straitened circumstances, she was invited by Mr. Smith to accompany him and his family to India when he received the appointment of Advocate-General, and had lived with them several years. The marriage took place in 1810. Mrs. Colebrooke was a person of a very retiring disposition, and readily seconded the wish of her husband to exchange a position of considerable dignity, but involving the maintenance of some state, for the quiet activity of a literary life in England. Every preparation for his return was made as the term of his seat in Council drew to a close; but it was unfortunately delayed for a while by the troublesome litigation in which he was involved. The causes which led to a further prolongation of his stay in India do not appear from any family letter or paper that remain. The result was most melancholy. Mr. Colebrooke on quitting the Council returned to a seat in the Sudder, which he held for only six months. He was then appointed a member of the Board of Revenue, an office which he held till the close of the year 1814. Three sons were born to him; but the loss of one of them by a prolonged infantine malady undermined the health of their mother, and she was carried off after a short illness at the very time that they were engaged in preparing for departure. The blow was sudden and overpowering, and Mr. Colebrooke's letters, announcing the event to his family in England, show a depth of feeling that he rarely expressed in words. On this and other occasions of family losses, he showed little outward sign of sorrow, for his nature was stoical, and he strove to repress any expression of feeling; but those who knew him intimately were aware of the strength of his affections, and the loss of his wife was further embittered by the unavailing regret that he had not taken alarm at the first approach of the insidious malady, (an affection of the liver,) that left her prostrate when attacked by acute illness.

Her death took place in October of 1814, and he sailed from India only two months afterwards. On arriving in England he was met by the recent intelligence of the over-

throw of Napoleon at Waterloo. Thirty-two years had elapsed since the young writer had left his country, severed from her principal colonies, and struggling against the combined forces of France and Spain, our Indian Empire barely sustained by the genius of Hastings. She was now at the height of her renown. His exultation was great at the triumph of his country's fortunes. Landing at Plymouth, he proceeded at once to join his mother at Bath. On his way thither he had to pass through the small town of Wellington, and there he determined to stop in honour of our great commander.

CHAPTER X.—1815-1818.

SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS—GEOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS—INDIAN ALGEBRA.

THIS latter portion of Mr. Colebrooke's life—on which I am now entering—exhibits the same characteristics as the preceding. Although during his short period of married life his studies may have been occasionally interrupted, their direction remained the same, and he continued, after his return to England, until failing health obliged him to abandon his labours, the same ardent student as throughout his previous career. My narrative will consist, as before, in the account of his literary and scientific labours. In one respect only was their direction materially altered. In devoting some of his leisure to physical science, he had followed, as has been already remarked, the native bent of his mind; and had he not been accidentally directed to antiquarian researches, he would certainly have arrived at great eminence in this field. Some regret was, on one occasion, expressed by him to his sons that he had not devoted more of his leisure to mathematical and astronomical pursuits, for which he conceived that he had a special aptitude; and his estimate of his own gifts was certainly well founded. It may, however, be doubted if he could have selected a path of literature or science so well adapted to call forth his varied learning, and the acuteness of his intellect, as in exploring and laying open to the world the stores of Sanscrit literature. The remark was interpreted by the writer of this memoir into something of regret that he had given so large a share of

his studies to Oriental literature. Many circumstances confirmed the impression that science was held by him in later life in higher estimation than the principal pursuit of his life. He certainly never lost an opportunity in fostering any inclination for science that he perceived in his sons, and, on the other hand, he showed so little anxiety that his sons should follow his example in literature, that he only pressed the study of Sanscrit on his son when proceeding to India, as a useful aid to his professional studies.

It is certain that, after his return to England, he devoted himself with more ardour to some branches of science than heretofore; more especially to geology and chemistry. He pursued the latter experimentally, one of his apartments being fitted up as a laboratory, and much of his time was devoted to this pursuit. The result of his labours on this subject is to be found in some of his published essays; and the note-books which he left behind bear testimony to his industry. With regard to geology, though he pursued it with some industry, whenever he had the opportunity of examining the natural features of any country,—and on such occasions he made numerous mineral collections,—his attention was chiefly directed to the geology of the East. Two papers on the Geology of the Sutlej and the North-East frontier of Bengal will be found in the list of his works. More important service was rendered to this branch of science by the earnestness with which he pressed it on others. His correspondence, of which many traces remain, was extensive, and shows the respect in which his opinion was held by his fellow labourers whom he left behind in India. One of them in his enthusiasm speaks of him as the father of Indian science, and the appropriateness of the title will, I think, be recognized.

This new direction of his pursuits was in no small degree encouraged by the welcome which he received from the leading men of science of the day. Something, too, was owing to the facilities he now enjoyed in the command of scientific appa-

ratus and books, which enabled him to keep on a level with the scientific knowledge of the Continent. He would sometimes remark on the disadvantages under which continuous study was pursued in the East, owing to the uncertainty of procuring the works he required. He was often brought to a stand by the reply of his correspondent, informing him that the works required were scarce, and soliciting further instructions. The advantages of his new position were obvious, and he keenly enjoyed them. He lived much in literary circles, and took an active part in the foundation of several scientific societies which at this time arose. A new impulse to science was given in the foundation of the Geological and Astronomical Societies, mainly attributable to the wider range of scientific researches which called for new divisions of labour. But the movement as regards the latter Society was precipitated by the administration of the Royal Society, and partook of the nature of a revolt against the long rule of Sir Joseph Banks. The Astronomical Society was founded in 1820. He became its second President after the death of Sir William Herschel in 1822. His selection was a high testimony to his reputation,[1] and chiefly due to his labours on the astronomical literature of India, for he contributed no paper to the Transactions of the new Society. His addresses on presenting the honorary medals awarded by the Society during his term of office will be found in the Appendix to this volume. That to Mr. Babbage, in recognition of the importance of his calculating machine, occupies the first and largest place.

His contributions to science were not at any time numerous,

[1] In reply to an inquiry addressed by me to Sir John Herschel, through a common friend, regarding Mr. Colebrooke's early connection with the foundation of the Astronomical Society, Sir John refers to his election as President of the Society in the following terms: —"He was elected President in February, 1824, and as the choice of a President under the then circumstances of the Society, just emerging from the cold shade of Sir Joseph Banks' absurd opposition, was a matter of much moment to its interests, the choice must have been founded quite as much on general respect and weight of character as on mere astronomical attainments."

and those which he published after he left India were not at all in proportion to the interest with which these subjects were regarded by him. He became an occasional contributor to the "Quarterly Journal of Science," a periodical which was edited at the Royal Institution, under the superintendence of Mr. Brande. Some of these papers are singularly speculative, and form a marked contrast to the cautious tone which pervades his writings on Indian literature. I refer more particularly to his geological papers. One of these proposes to account for appearances familiar to the earliest students of the science, as indicating the former submersion of rocks now found in an elevated situation. He throws out for consideration whether this may not be attributable to an alteration in the temperature of the globe, at former periods of the world's history, acting on bodies which expand under heat so unequally as land and water. Another essay developes a favourite theory that water may admit of such compression at great depths as to become heavier than the most solid rocks, and constitute, in fact, the nucleus of the globe. In the course of these essays he refers to some unpublished experiments in support of the views advanced by him; and they may be presumed to have been the result of work in his own laboratory; but these hypotheses are avowedly thrown out as conjectures to incite the inquiries of others rather than to propose a complete solution. Systematic theories of the earth, framed to account for the indications of change that are found on the world's surface, were more common during the early cultivation of this science, and especially during the last century, than is the case at the present day; they have been somewhat discredited in proportion as it became apparent to observers how varied and complex are the problems involved. It was justly remarked by Playfair, referring to the diversified appearances with which the geologist has to deal, and the remoteness of the causes in operation from the sphere of ordinary observation, that the proper study of this science could only be effected in an

advanced state of the physical sciences generally; and that, from the nature of the subject, geology must be the youngest of the sciences. Mr. Colebrooke's papers are the detached thoughts of an acute and ingenious mind, dealing with assumed hypothetical causes which might modify our general view of the revolutions to which the world's crust has been subject. They are noticed here because they illustrate a phase in his character that those who know his Oriental works only cannot be aware of.

The first of these papers involves a very curious speculation. It is based upon the assumption that the earth's mass has been, at some former period, liable to a change in its mean temperature; and that the heat was then greater, in a degree however small, than it is in the present state of the globe. This is no improbable supposition, whether we assume that the heat of the globe is derived from external sources, in which case it may be presumed to be gradual, and, therefore, affecting the mean temperature; or from internal causes, leading to the extrication of heat, whenever any large portions of the earth passed from a liquid to a solid state, or when a gaseous fluid became liquid. The heat thus evolved could not, he conceived, be confined to contiguous portions of the earth, but must affect the mean temperature of the mass.

The second postulate is of a more uncertain character. The changes in temperature, owing to the unequal expansion of heterogeneous substances, are supposed to produce a solution of continuity, leading to fissures and rendering the earth permeable to liquids. The earth, therefore, might be conceived as a solid globe pervaded by liquid matter, or as a fluid one with solid bodies intermixed; and an alteration of temperature acting upon this complex structure would lead to an unequal expansion of the component parts. Now, as liquids are dilated under heat more than solids, they would rise to a higher level; or if the mean temperature of the globe were to fall, the level of the liquid element would sink to a corresponding

extent. The degree in which this relative expansion or contraction would operate is then subjected to a calculation; and supposing that the mean temperature of the mass be at or near 67° of Fahrenheit's scale, which is assumed to be that of the surface, the expansion of water near that point of the scale is about ·000011 for a degree, the corresponding linear expansion being ·000037. The expansion of different solids is well known to vary, but Mr. Colebrooke takes that of vitrified matter, and concludes that the difference between its expansion and that of water would be no less than ·0000325 for a degree of the thermometer; so that the expansion of the liquid should exceed that of the solid by a thirty-thousandth part of its lineal dimension, and an increase of one degree in the earth's temperature would raise the surface of the watery element as much as a hundred or a hundred and twenty fathoms above that of the solid sphere which it inter-penetrates. A very small variation of temperature might, therefore, alter the level of the ocean, such as the flat strata and tertiary rocks seem to manifest; perhaps, as he suggests, as much as is shown in the rocks of the secondary or transition period.

It is admitted in this essay that some of the data are partly conjectural, and that further observation is required to determine the relative expansion of different rocks; but the mean density of the globe, as deduced from any known experiments, excluded, in his view, the possibility of its being composed of ponderous metallic bodies, or, on the other hand, of light ductile masses, whose density would be greatly increased at extreme depths. He therefore holds it to be highly probable that the globe is principally composed of bodies that have little elasticity and are not easily compressible, such as the crystalline rocks. Any liquid matter diffused through it would cause the changes indicated in this Essay, and uphold his theory. "Upon the same grounds," he concludes, "it may be received as a fair deduction from the premises, that no appreciable variation of the mean temperature has taken place in recent ages, since

the level of the ocean appears to have been of late unchanged. Or, if it be admitted, on the evidence adduced by divers writers, though not generally deemed satisfactory, that the level of the ocean does appear to be in progress of depression; then the hypothesis, which is the subject of this paper, is offered as an explanation of that appearance; and the earth, it may be said, is slowly cooling, as the sea is receding from its shores."

It must be obvious that the conditions of the problem must be materially changed, if the ocean be of limited depth, as it is usually supposed to be. The relative quantities of the ingredients must form an important element in such calculations; and render the hypothesis of little value until additional facts are adduced calculated to throw light on the composition of the globe. Mr. Colebrooke returned to the subject in the following year, but on this occasion, to suggest an hypothesis for the solution of a more intricate problem that must be attacked in the first place, viz., as to the actual composition of the globe. In his former Essay he had set aside the supposition of its being composed mainly of water, on the ground that its compression at great depths would be such that a sphere, composed chiefly or exclusively of water, would exceed the known density of the earth. He subsequently found reason to modify this opinion; and he refers to some unpublished experiments in support of his new opinion, and he contends that the compression of water at great depths would be such as to cause to float solid bodies which sink at its surface, and that the world might, after all, be only a solid crust sustained by the water in which it is immersed.

The hypothesis is advanced with a full admission of its speculative nature, and with a view, as he urges at the conclusion, to incite inquiries and suggest experiments on water and gaseous matter under various degrees of compression; and, until such test be applied, all that he pleads for is some freedom to conjecture. "Meantime," he contends, "it is as

allowable to suppose the interior of the earth to be composed of condensed fluids, upholding lighter solids, as to imagine it a compact, impermeable, solid mass, upon which fluids rest. Let well-conducted experiments determine which is the most probable supposition, upon the presumption as a postulate that the entire mass of the earth consists of substances alike to those with which we are acquainted, being such as its shell, accessible to research, exhibits."

His hypothesis, as to the watery composition of the globe, which met with some attention at the time, was not, however, the main object of the Essay, which is devoted to a more general problem, viz., the condition under which bodies might exist either in a liquid, viscous, or gaseous state, not only subject to internal elements of attraction and repulsion, but under the influence of gravity, or under superincumbent pressure, as of the atmosphere. The views of former chemists had, he thought, been too limited. The subject is treated with some elaboration, but in an abstract form. It involves questions of interest, especially as regards the constitution and limits of the atmosphere, which forms the subject of an essay by Dr. Wollaston; but the topics could not be treated here without transcribing the greater part of the essay.[1]

[1] This essay is referred to in a paper by Mr. Brayley, of the London Institution, which appeared in the Companion to the Almanac for 1864. It is entitled, "Recent observations and researches on the physical constitution of the sun." I subjoin his remarks: "It has not yet been recorded in the history of science, though occasionally mentioned by the writer in lectures on the atmosphere, that Wollaston had been anticipated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, F.R.S., sometime President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and an eminent contributor to its 'Transactions,' called 'the Asiatic Researches.' He was one of the ornaments of our Indian Empire, whom that empire itself in great measure contributed to form, and by whom as its reward it was maintained and extended. The remarkable paper which contains his theory of the atmosphere will be found in the 'Quarterly Journal of Science' (vol. ix. p. 52, 61), for April, 1820. Dr. Wollaston's paper was read before the Royal Society, January 17th, 1822, and published in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for that year. But the two philosophers were led independently to the same important conclusion by distinct roads. Similar views had been vaguely entertained before; but, until the modern limitation of the theory of the infinite divisibility of ponderable matter by the discovery that its elements would unite only in fixed and definite proportions, and the con-

Other instances might be given of this disposition to abstract speculation as evinced in his scientific writings; but they may be regarded as exceptions to the usual tone of his works, which, in science or in literature, were eminently cautious and prepared in the true spirit of inductive philosophy. Two very interesting papers on the meteorology of South Africa, and of the Atlantic, the result of long and patient observation during a voyage to and from the Cape of Good Hope, and a short residence at that colony, fully support what I have already said of his habits of observation. They are full of interesting and suggestive remarks; and, when they appeared, were valuable contributions to meteorology.

Amidst these somewhat desultory studies he was engaged on works of a more laborious character. His first literary task, after his return to England, was to complete his researches in Indian Algebra; and the work subsequently published may be regarded as the complement of his astronomical studies. It consisted of four translations undertaken, according to his own expression, "as a task" during his homeward voyage. They were accompanied by a dissertation on the history of the science, or rather by a series of dissertations; for many of the notes to this part of the work are the fruit of varied and profound research.

It may be remembered that the subject had engaged his attention during his early Sanscrit studies; and as the original treatises on algebra translated by him form parts of a course of astronomical study, some of the questions discussed must have been constantly present to his mind

ception of an imponderable ether at once pervading and extending beyond the aërial atmosphere consisting of such elements had been expressed, the finite extent and termination of the latter, it may fairly be said, even if they could be definitely conceived of, could not be intelligibly described, nor securely maintained. In the use of the last phrase the objections urged by Dr. Whewell against the conclusions of Dr. Wollaston are not ignored; even he admits the height of the atmosphere to be finite, though he denies that this involves the consideration of atoms, supposed to be inseparable from the truth that bodies combine only in definite proportions."

during his previous researches. Indeed, his dissertation on algebra contains, towards the end, the most complete and lucid summary of his views on Indian astronomy, its history, importance, and probable connection with the science of the Greeks.

From a comparison of dates it is clear that a paper by Reuben Burrow, which appeared in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, first stimulated his curiosity. This gentleman was the first to make known the intricate problems with which the Indian algebra deals. He had, with the assistance of a Pundit, translated parts of the Víja-gańita, one of the works subsequently translated by Mr. Colebrooke. The specimen which he gives of Indian calculations satisfied him that the author had some knowledge of the higher branches of algebraical analysis; and as Mr. Burrow was in possession of parts only of this particular treatise, he was persuaded that other works must have existed in which the science was carried much further.

These conjectures were shown to be well founded, through the labours of Mr. Edward Strachey, who published in 1813 a translation of the same work, and in the same year communicated to the Asiatic Society a paper on the early history of algebra, to which Mr. Colebrooke acknowledged his obligations. He describes succinctly the progress the Indians had made in the science, especially as regards the indeterminate analysis, and shows clearly that the Arabian algebra had points of resemblance to that of the Indians, and not to that of the Greeks; that, in fact, the Diophantine analysis was only slightly cultivated by the Arabs; and that, finally, the Indian was more scientific and profound than either.

Up to this period our knowledge of the Indian science was derived solely from works of the 11th century, and through the medium of Persian translations. It was not until Mr. Colebrooke obtained possession of some manuscripts of Brahmegupta, referred by him to the close of the 6th century, that

he thought the claims of the Hindus to originality demanded a more searching investigation, and he applied himself with energy to the solution of the curious problems that were involved.

Much obscurity exists with regard to the early history of the physical sciences; and from the nature of the subject it was impossible to supply such proof as to the origin of algebra as would not leave the question open to some doubt. In dealing with the external evidence for the claims of the Hindus to invention, he had the advantage of the labours of former scholars, and, it may be added, of former controversies. It seems well established that this science was first made known to modern Europe through the literature of the Arabs, though it was long disputed by rival nations whether we received the knowledge through Spain, or, as is now generally acknowledged, through an Italian student of the 12th century. It is equally acknowledged that we owe our arithmetical notation to the same source; and the Arabs have on this latter point uniformly acknowledged their indebtedness to India. In the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, the presumption would be very strong that the nation which had stood at such an advantage with regard to numbers should have made progress in the higher science.

It is, indeed, extraordinary that a nation which has shown such aptitude for arithmetic, and cultivated it with success in its abstract form, should have exhibited so little of a true scientific spirit in their astronomy. The progress of algebra in modern times has kept pace with the demands of science, but has rarely been in advance of them. Now, with regard to the Hindus, they have added nothing, so far as we have the means of judging, to this science as observers, like the Arabs, nor to its scientific treatment, like the Greeks; while we find their algebra dealing with intricate problems of a high order, and worked by methods superior to that of the

Arabs or Greeks, and carried far beyond the demands of their imperfect astronomy. The explanation of this will be probably found in the singular ardour with which astrology has been always cultivated in the East; many of the problems in the work of Brahmegupta having special reference to this false science. The anomaly here referred to is so far consistent with what we know of the history of this subtle but unpractical race. But the mere fact that this branch of mathematics had been cultivated by them with such success, could not fail to excite Mr. Colebrooke's ardour, in examining a question which might throw light on the earliest progress of the science both in the East and in the West. Having traced back the origin of Indian algebra to a period antecedent to its cultivation by the Arabs, it remained to supply an important link in the chain of proof, and show that the latter, who had introduced the science into Europe, had acquired its knowledge from the Hindus. This part of his subject he treated with singular perspicuity. Accumulated proofs are adduced of the intimate connection of the Arabian scholars with India in astronomical and mathematical science before they became acquainted with the works of the Greeks; and it is further shown that the first Arabian writer on algebra, a manuscript of whose work was found in the Bodleian Library, and examined by Mr. Colebrooke, professes to write as a compiler, and was himself a diligent student of the astronomy and arithmetic of India. If the case rested here, very little doubt would remain as to the point for which Mr. Colebrooke contended, that the algebra of Europe was of Indian origin; and it may be added that Cossali, in his elaborate work on the origin of Algebra, published in 1797, had arrived at the same conclusion on less complete evidence.

It must be admitted that the chain of proof, strong as it is, was unequal to bear the strain that was certain to be placed on it. The age of Brahmegupta, referred by Mr. Colebrooke to the close of the sixth century, was not free from un-

certainty;[1] and the age of the older writers was still more doubtful. It was still therefore open to question whether the Hindus, who borrowed from the Greeks in astronomy, may not have owed their algebra to the same source. The admission of Mr. Colebrooke that Diophantus, the only Greek writer whose work on the science has come down to us, may have flourished before the earliest known Hindu writer, was certain to be quoted against him. He seems to have felt this, and made a special appeal to the learned to draw their conclusions from the internal no less than the external proofs adduced by him.

[1] Hindu tradition is very precise as to the age when the principal astronomical writers flourished (see note E to the dissertation on Algebra), and some of the assigned dates have been confirmed by subsequent research. In drawing inferences as to the age of these authors, and especially of Brahmegupta, from astronomical data, Mr. Colebrooke exposed himself to the attack of Bentley, who took pains to show that no inference should be drawn as to the age of an Indian author from any mention of the longitude of stars found in his works, inasmuch as in all modern works they are deduced from the same point. It would indeed be extraordinary if Mr. Colebrooke had committed the error here attributed to him; for he was the first to point out that the original observations had been copied from Brahmegupta and the Súrya Siddhánta, with little variation, by successive authors (Misc. Essays, ii., p. 327). In his reply to Bentley he expressly disavowed the construction put upon his expressions. He there states distinctly that "it was not from the longitude of the stars, but from the coincidence of the tropical and sidereal spheres, according to Brahmegupta, that I deduce the author's age." It would appear, however, that his meaning was open to misconception, as the objection has been lately revived by Professor Whitney, in a paper on the views of Biot and Weber respecting the Hiudu and Chinese Asterisms, which appeared in the Journal of the American Oriental Society for 1864. I have therefore thought it right that Mr. Colebrooke's own explanation on this and other points where his opinion was controverted should be included in the re-publication of his Miscellaneous Essays. They appeared at the time in a letter inserted in the Asiatic Journal for 1826. Certainly no one was more alive than himself to the necessity of using caution in drawing conclusions from the records of Indian observations. But his opinion was clearly founded, as was that of his predecessors, both Davis and Bentley, on the belief that the system of Brahmegupta was adapted to the time when he lived; and that he lived when the motions of the heavenly bodies were closely observed. This indeed is apparent from Mr. Colebrooke's remarks at pp. vi and vii of the Dissertation on Algebra, and in notes C and F to the same dissertation. In the last-named of these he makes a special reference to the opinion of Brahmegupta as to the stationary position of the solstices as justifying the inference which he fairly drew, as had Indian authors before him, that he could not have lived long after the period when the vernal equinox coincided with the point where the Hindu Ecliptic now commences.

This part of his argument can only be fully apprehended by those who have followed closely in the track of these studies; and it cannot be conveyed in more concise terms than are employed by Mr. Colebrooke in his dissertation. The state of the science, as it was cultivated by the Greeks, Arabs, and Hindus, is clearly set forth; and nothing can be more complete than the proofs he adduces in support of the superiority of the latter. Indeed, it is difficult to evade the conclusion that a science in this advanced state must have been long cultivated by the nation, with whom it appears in a state of maturity. This argument is specially applicable to the indeterminate problems, in which the Hindus evince such skill and ingenuity. This branch of the science was, indeed, cultivated with great ingenuity by Diophantus, and Mr. Colebrooke was willing to concede to the Greeks the merit of invention, while he advanced for the Indians the claim of higher culture and improvement. The question was thus open to the doubt, which was afterwards raised, whether the Diophantine fragment represented the real advance of the later Greeks in the science, and whether the Indians did not derive the whole of their knowledge from this source. This conjecture, however, seems quite overthrown by the accumulated proofs adduced of the difference in character of the methods employed by the Indians, and the great advantage at which they stood in the superiority of their arithmetical notation. Indeed, if we were to balance probabilities, the argument might be carried further than the cautious conclusions at which Mr. Colebrooke arrived; for when it is borne in mind how slight was the progress the Greeks had made in practical arithmetic during the many centuries that they had studied mathematics with such ardour, it seems far more probable that the germ of the higher science which is exhibited in the work of an Alexandrian writer may have been derived from an Indian source, at a time when we have every reason to suppose that there was an intercommunication between them on astro-

nomy, than that the Indians, so superior in arithmetic, should have been borrowers from the West in their algebra.[1]

It must be admitted that the utmost learning which may be employed on this abstruse subject leaves the question open to some doubt, and resembles, in this respect, one of those indeterminate problems which admit of a variety of solutions. The treatises which have come down to us are manuals of arithmetical and algebraical science, of whose antiquity few would venture now to suggest a doubt. They exhibit the science in a state of advance which European nations did not attain till a comparatively recent epoch. But they contain mere rules for practice, and not a word on the path by which they were arrived at. There is nothing of the rigour of the

[1] Recent inquiries, while they confirm the hitherto prevailing belief in the Indian origin of the present decimal system, have raised considerable doubt whether this notation is of high antiquity, as was once supposed. It is very remarkable that no coin or inscription has been discovered in India, in which the ciphers employed have a local value, of an earlier date than the 7th century of our era. This is not conclusive against the use of the decimal notation in still earlier times, or in parts of India other than those in which these particular inscriptions, which are few in number, were found; for the older notation might remain in popular use, or be employed in inscriptions, long after the invention of the more improved method. Considerable light has been thrown on the whole subject by M. Woepké in his learned papers on the propagation of the Indian ciphers in the Journal Asiatique for 1863. He raises a very strong presumption that a decimal notation, similar to that now in use, was introduced into Europe long before the invasion of Spain by the Muhammadans, through whom they are usually supposed to have been introduced into Western Europe. M. Woepké's theory is that they were adopted by the Neo-Pythagoreans from Indian sources, so far back as the 3rd or 4th century A.D., fixing on that period on account of the resemblance which the Gobar figures (the notation in question) bear to the figures in usage in Indian inscriptions of the 2nd century. After all, the great difficulty about accepting any theory as to the high antiquity of the invention is, that it should not have found its way westward during the early centuries of our era; otherwise traces of the system would have been found in the remains of Alexandrian writers of such a stamp as Diophantus and Pappus. These difficulties may perhaps be reconciled, if we suppose that the great improvement in numeral notation was not long anterior to the great improvement of algebra, and that they both formed part of the same great effort of the Indian mind, and belonged to a period lying between the 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. To whatever period the invention be assigned, it must have given a great impulse to the science of numbers, and an intimate knowledge of their properties must have been arrived at before the Indians could have made such progress in some branches of algebraic analysis.

ancient geometry; very little which enables us to measure the attainments of the original framers. Of the fathers of the science, whether Greek or Indian, we know nothing, as their writings have perished. The weight of evidence and probability preponderates strongly in favour of the Indian claims, and this claim stands as strongly in their favour as it did when these works were translated; but the subject is open to further investigation, should we fortunately fall upon any treatise of an older date than that of Brahmegupta.

The reception which this work experienced constitutes a curious chapter in recent Indian literature. It appeared when a keen discussion had arisen not merely as to the origin and importance of the Indian astronomy, but as to the very claims of the Hindus to be regarded as a civilized race. The reaction against the views of Baillie and Sir William Jones had been extreme, and every claim of the Hindus was regarded with suspicion. If Mr. Colebrooke's views were accepted, it would stand on record that the science of algebra was cultivated by them with signal success, and long before it was matured in modern Europe; and, in fact, that they had anticipated some inventions of recent times.

Playfair, on the one hand, took up the cause of the Hindus with enthusiasm, and in an able analysis of Mr. Colebrooke's work, which appeared in the forty-second number of the "Edinburgh Review," he examined with care the character of the science which these translations exhibited; but here the bias of his mind led him to conclusions far beyond the sober estimate of the translator. The state in which even the oldest of these treatises comes down to us, formed apparently on more ancient models, and the stationary condition in which the science has since remained, suggested to him the idea that it was but the fragment of a more ancient system, belonging to the imaginary epoch to which the disciples of Baillie were fond of referring; when the arts and sciences shone with a lustre that has never been revived. On the other hand, Delambre,

the historian of ancient and modern astronomy, devotes some pages of the Introduction to his History of the Astronomy of the Middle Ages to an examination of Mr. Colebrooke's work; but it is singular that this writer should, on such a question, have contented himself with accepting the account of the work from Playfair's review, and confess at the outset, that he had never read the original. He dwells severely, but not unfairly, on the weaker points in the external proof adduced; but on the internal evidence his reasoning is singularly weak. He considers the specimens of higher analysis very ingenious, but very useless. They are, in his view, puzzles which European analysts have treated with contempt because barren of results. The most remarkable of these examples, especially adverted to by Mr. Colebrooke, in proof of the high skill attained in the general solution of indeterminate problems, may, he thinks, have been arrived at by induction, and, therefore, merely an ingenious guess, and not the fruit of rigid investigation. Admitting the problem to be a curious one, he thanks Mr. Colebrooke sarcastically for informing us that it was known to the Hindus; but what, he adds, does this do for the Indian astronomy?[1]

So summary a review of a work which he had never read was not calculated to overthrow Mr. Colebrooke's conclusions, and it is referred to here because the historian Mill in his laboured pleading against the claims of the Hindus to be regarded as a civilized race, devotes some space to an examination of Mr. Colebrooke's work, and does little more than repeat the doubts of Delambre, whose criticisms on the weakness of the external proof he repeats almost verbatim.[2]

[1] The question was treated by both these eminent writers too much with reference to the old controversy as to the progress of ancient India in astronomy. Inferences were drawn as to the astronomical knowledge of the Hindus from their skill in the art of analysis, to which Delambre replies with much force that the discoveries of Archimedes were made when scientific astronomy was still in its infancy in Greece.

[2] The ingenuity which has been applied to overthrow the claim of the Hindus,

Of the prejudices Mr. Colebrooke had to contend with, a singular specimen is to be found in a letter in my possession addressed to Mr. Colebrooke by Mr. Edward Strachey, and referring to the objections of Professor Leslie. The latter, in an article on arithmetic which appeared in the supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," spoke slightingly of Indian science, and described the Lílávatí, a translation of which was already before the public, in terms showing singular ignorance of the work itself. Mr. Colebrooke was anxious to ascertain his opinion of the other and more important work by the same author, the Víja-gańita. Mr. Strachey supplies him with the information, and quotes from a letter of the Professor's as follows:—

"So far from evincing that the Indians were acquainted with algebra, this treatise seems to prove the very reverse; for the essence of algebra, and what alone distinguishes it from the ancient analysis, consists assuredly in its notation and symbols. The specimen, whatever may be its antiquity, is only a collection, and very unlike any scientific performance. It might with equal force be turned against the Greeks. Great uncertainty exists as to the date of the work of Diophantus, the only Greek treatise on this science which has come down to us. It was discovered in the Vatican in the 15th century, and it contains no internal evidence by which to determine a date. There is indeed mention of one Hypsicles; but as to his writings, equal, if not greater, obscurity exists. Every imaginable date has been assigned to the work of Diophantus, from the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. to the close of the 4th century of our era, and in each case on no better ground than that a person of that name was known in the literary history of Greece. There are two authors whose testimony is more precise and raises a presumption that he flourished in the 4th century A.D. As to Abulfaraj, he is a well-known Armenian writer, of slender authority, who, moreover, lived so late as the 13th century of our era (*vide* Herbelot). The mention by Suidas of a commentary by Hypatia on a work by a Diophantus would be of some value did the description agree with our author. It is as follows: "*ἔγραφεν ὑπομνημα εἰς Διοφαντον τον ἀστρονομικον κανονα.*" This certainly does not apply to a writer on algebra. Turning to the word Diophantus in the same dictionary, the only information we procure is *ὄνομα κύριον*. For the obscurity which exists as to the writings of Diophantus, reference may be made to the "Biographie Universelle." The article is by Delambre. Notwithstanding these doubts and difficulties, it seems reasonable to accept the date of the 4th century as the most probable; but the evidence is not higher than, if so good as, that which is advanced by Mr. Colebrooke to support the claims of Brahmegupta and Áryabhatta.

resembles very much indeed alligation and false position in arithmetic, which were borrowed from the Arabians, and long known in Europe before the introduction of algebra."

The judgment here given, which Mr. Strachey takes some pains to refute, must have been formed on a very superficial examination of the work itself; and it certainly did not discourage Mr. Colebrooke from giving his views to the public. In the controversy which followed he took no part, content to leave the question to the impartial judgment of those who were interested in it, and capable of judging of the curious problems that certainly were involved. He had no reason to repent of his decision, for his views are now generally accepted as offering the most probable solution of an obscure chapter in the history of science; this deference to his judgment being as much owing to his fair and candid treatment of the subject as to his learning and research.

Before leaving the subject, some reference should be made to the support which his views, as to the age in which Bháscara and Brahmegupta lived, have received from later researches. He had been accused of accepting the date appended to Bháscara's work somewhat credulously. The traditionary epochs assigned to these writers by later commentators could not, it was thought, be received without further corroboration. This has been obtained, as regards Bháscara, in an inscription lately discovered by Dr. Bháu Dájí, signifying the date at which some of the descendants of that scholar lived, and they fully bear out the previous conclusion. With regard to Brahmegupta, the copy of that author's work, in Dr. Bháu Dájí's possession, quoted by him in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, gives the date of 550 Saca, corresponding with A.D. 628. This agrees with the date assigned to him by the astronomers of Ujjayani, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke in note E to his dissertation. The support which this traditionary date receives from the testimony of Albíruni is of more importance. The manuscript in the Biblio-

thèque Royale, Paris, which has been, on good grounds, assigned to that author, gives 664 A.D. as the epoch of Brahmegupta's tables.[1] This would represent the date assigned to Brahmegupta by Hindus in the eleventh century, Albíruni having accompanied Mahmoud in his invasion of India about that epoch. It is not probable that we shall arrive at anything more direct and precise than this testimony.

[1] Reignaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 337.

CHAPTER XI.—1818-1823.

Treatise on Obligations and Contracts—On Import of Colonial Corn—Reflections on the Colonization of our Eastern Possessions—Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope—Remarks on its State and Resources.

While engaged upon the scientific and antiquarian studies described in the last chapter, Mr. Colebrooke's versatile mind was also actively occupied with topics bearing on the well-being of modern society, and in the year following the appearance of his work on Indian algebra he produced two volumes, which, though small in bulk, were the result of considerable labour. The "Treatise on Obligations and Contracts" has been already referred to in the account of Mr. Colebrooke's legal labours. Testimonies to its value have been repeatedly given by those who have followed in the same path, and I think it was a matter of some disappointment to its author that it was not more generally appreciated. He had devoted to the subject much time and attention, and had compressed into the space of 250 closely printed pages an elaborate compendium of legal principles derived chiefly from the Roman jurisprudence, and had made considerable progress in a second volume. The other work, "On Import of Colonial Corn," contains a curious mixture of political and philosophical disquisitions, and was from its nature of an ephemeral character. In it he pleads hard on behalf of our Eastern possessions for some relaxation of the Corn Laws, recently imposed in all their rigour. The principles of the law are assailed by general and now familiar arguments, as inconsistent with sound principle,

and injurious to both agriculture and commerce. But the hardship of the law in its bearing on distant possessions of the Crown is pointedly referred to, and the redress of this grievance was the first object of the work. It may be mentioned that Mr. Colebrooke had, on his homeward voyage from India, been led to invest a considerable sum in the purchase of land at the Cape colony; and the interests of that possession naturally demanded his special attention.

A law which only admitted corn for home consumption when it reached the price of 80*s.* per quarter neccessarily operated to the exclusion from the home market of the produce of all distant possessions. But this prohibitory enactment did not constitute the whole grievance. It was aggravated as regards our Eastern possessions by their being placed in the same category as foreign countries; while a special relaxation was allowed in favour of the British colonies in North America, who were allowed to import wheat when its price rose above 67*s.* Against this law, which treated not merely the Cape of Good Hope and the then infant settlements in Australia, but also the British dominions in India, as precarious and estranged possessions, this volume offered an indignant protest.

The subject is treated on broad principles, and in its bearing not on trade only, but on colonization. After some remarks of a general character, the treatise takes a wider range and presses for the removal of such fiscal obstructions as impeded the trade of these possessions with the mother-country, and of other and more mischievous impediments to the natural flow of the surplus population of the mother-country to its outlying possessions.

Mixed with these practical suggestions are a variety of questions only indirectly connected with them, and cropping out irregularly. There is a scientific discussion on the means of preserving perishable articles in long voyages, the use of iron packages for this purpose being strongly insisted upon. The possibility of converting potatoes to flour so as to render

that vegetable as easily kept from year to year as wheat, (a favourite idea of the author), is discussed at some length; and, among other means of reducing the freights on mercantile vessels, the employment of the steam-engine as an auxiliary power is strongly insisted upon, its use having hitherto been confined to inland navigation.

Among the most curious of these detached speculations are some reflections on the future prospects of the Christian and mixed races of India. They form part of some general and practical remarks on the flow of emigration to the Cape of Good Hope and Australia; and though some of the topics may be regarded as out of date, I give the passage entire, as illustrative of the large and liberal spirit with which he approached these questions.

"That India is capable of supplying wheat, and that the difference of the usual prices there and in England, is amply sufficient to defray the charges of importation, and leave an adequate profit, has been already intimated. The charges being no greater for the equally distant possessions of Great Britain in New Holland, and much lower for the less remote colony of the Cape of Good Hope, it follows that the expense of transport need not be an obstacle to the drawing of supplies of bread-corn from these possessions. The British Settlements in Australasia, with all the advantages of genial climate, have hitherto made very slow and almost discouraging progress. But distance from the mother-country is not the sole, nor the chief, cause of their tardy advancement: nor is this result, though very different from what is usually experienced in young colonies after the first difficulties of early settlement have been surmounted, to be ascribed wholly to an injudicious or unfortunate selection of place, nor to special untoward circumstances (although these likewise have had their share); but mainly to the very nature of an establishment which was commenced as a receptacle for convicted criminals, and still continues to be chiefly such, and to be

administered with an almost exclusive view to that primary object.

"But, if a distinct colony of freemen were established, with a colonial charter, and a suitable municipal government, and entire exclusion of convicts under unexpired sentences, there is no reason to doubt that a British plantation upon such a footing, in a well-selected situation within the favourable climate of the southern part of Australasia, would exhibit the like rapid growth, and, at an early period, the same thriving condition, which have been seen in the Western hemisphere. The vast island, or rather southern continent, of New Holland has been yet very imperfectly explored. The interior of the country has been but recently penetrated. But the accounts of what has been observed are promising. Making, however, deductions for the marked inferiority of internal navigation, contrasted with the vast rivers of America, and for comparative paucity of situations for sea-ports; not to speak of the greater distance from Europe, for which disadvantage proximity of the populous countries of Asia make some amends; there yet remain sufficient grounds for prognosticating eminent and quick prosperity of British Colonies in New Holland, when settled, and conducted upon more comprehensive principles than have been hitherto allowed. Beginnings may be slow, as the distance is unquestionably adverse to a very direct emigration. For the same reason fewer recruits may flock thither from Europe than to the nearer continent of North America, after they have been established. But the increase of numbers would nevertheless proceed with that elasticity and spring which are witnessed in other new countries, where facility of subsistence takes its natural effect unimpeded by obstructive institutions.

"The colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Dutch in its origin, but now a British possession, is yet more favourably situated for early prosperity. It has a temperate climate—almost too warm for summer out-door labour of a native of the

northern portion of Europe, but not too much so for that of his creole offspring. It is more temperate than the southern portion of Europe. With greater inequality of surface, a cool air and a powerful sun, and abundant rain and dews, its climate is suited to most of the productions of the temperate, and many of the torrid, zone. Begun, like the middle and southern states of North America, by plantations, of which the work is performed by slaves, it is actually in progress of transition from that mode of culture towards the more desirable method of husbandry by hired labour. Much accession of labourers from contiguous countries is not to be expected; and emigration from Europe has not yet taken a pronounced direction towards Southern Africa. The increase of its population is proceeding, therefore, naturally, with the simple elasticity which full scope for it affords, unaided by accession from abroad. Its administration, though not upon the footing of a free and chartered colony, is not decidedly unfavourable to improvement and prosperity; like the more rigid government of Botany Bay.

"Its situation, midway towards India and Australasia, and facing Southern America, and not too remote for an intimate intercourse with the West Indies, fits it for carrying on an extended commerce. It is wholly deficient in internal navigation, and has a tempestuous sea for a coasting trade. It does not abound in harbours, but has one that may vie with the most commodious and secure anywhere known;[1] and the regularity of its seasons permits an assured safe navigation upon its coasts at confined but known periods. It shares in some measure the prevalent defect of Africa; sandy and schistose soil, and saline impregnations, with a consequent scarcity of fresh springs and running water. But the soil is fertile, notwithstanding its sandiness and want of tenacity; and the failure of running streams and fresh springs is not irremediable in an uneven and actually mountainous country.

[1] Saldanha Bay.

It abounds in cattle, corn, and wine, and may, without difficulty, furnish copious supplies to the West Indies and to Great Britain. There needs but an alteration of the laws, which discourage its commerce in the most important articles of its production with Great Britain: its corn, its fish-oil, the yieldings of its cattle, and, in short, almost everything but its wine. The inordinate rate of exchange against this colony, while the course of exchange has been for most other places against London, demonstrates the difficulty experienced in making returns for the British goods which it takes. As another cause, however, does partly contribute to this effect, there will be occasion to resume the consideration of this last topic.

"Under the pressure of a fast-growing population, and with overflowing capital, it would be for the benefit of Great Britain to promote emigration to that colony, and still more to the almost unopened field of New Holland, more fertile, more genial, but more distant; as well as to the less remote plantations in North America; not, indeed, to send deluded emigrants to starve and perish in the wilds of those countries, but to pour forth a spare part of its population; persons who, by a change in the direction of the demand for industry, have lost their accustomed employment and do not readily find another; persons, whose subsistence burdens their parishes, and whose discontent, goaded by distress and verging towards disaffection to the state, threatens to convulse it: these the state should send forth to regions where there is scope for industry, and ready incitement to it, in the prompt means of its employment; furnished however with the funds of subsistence until their labour can be expected to be productive. It would be better for the public collectively to defray for once the charge of the removal of an able-bodied pauper to a country where he will cease to be a pauper and become a customer for the manufactures of his native country, instead of an unprofitable consumer of a scanty portion of its productions dealt out to him

with a chary and degrading hand of charity; than to defray for an indefinite period a wretched subsistence for him at home.

"The colonization which has been contemplated in the foregoing remarks, is that of new or thinly-peopled countries to be settled or more extensively planted by a new or augmented population retaining the habits of the parent nation and becoming a people of customers for its wrought productions, and of contributions to its political strength. The subject of colonizing cannot, however, be passed by, without some notice of a system of policy, regarding one of the most important of the transmarine possessions of Great Britain, adopted or maintained upon grounds of apprehension of colonizing a country already populous. It will be readily perceived that India is the country alluded to.

"Against that policy in its principle and in all its ramifications, it is contended that no colonization, in any sense usually attached to that term, could take place in the British possessions on the continent of India, were it ever so studiously promoted; that the establishment of British settlers among the native inhabitants of India is not to be deprecated as an evil; that the increase of a Christian creole population in that country is devoutly to be wished, and that a just and wise policy should encourage and promote these results, whether termed colonizations or by whatever other name designated.

"It is needless to repeat here what has been again and again averred, and insisted on by more than one writer upon this subject, that no inducement exists for the resort of the common labourer and artisan to India. No such emigration is invited from the temperate climate of England to the torrid one of the West Indies, though colonization be there free. The price of labour is there high, it is low in Hindustan. No person would dream of proceeding to either country, exposed to a climate so positively adverse, with a view direct or contingent of personal exercise of manual labour in agriculture or handicraft. The voluntary resort to Hindustan, with the

purpose of settling there, were it free as it is to the West Indies and to the British plantations on the main of South America, would be confined to merchants, factors, and traders; to navigators and seamen competent to functions above those of foremast men; to a few artists, and but a few, as master workmen; to master-planters and overseers of plantations; to military and civil servants of the government.

"The influx of persons of these classes could in no circumstances be of a magnitude to have any sensible effect on the ordinary calls for employment of the population of the country. Their influx is invited for the performance of some task, which would remain undone or ill-performed by the ordinary means which the country affords. Their intelligence, enterprise or dexterity is wanted. By one or other of those qualities the general activity may be and is directed into new channels or stimulated to greater exertion; and the employment of the many is rendered more beneficial to the multitude and more useful to the public by a small influx of keen and busy settlers.

"An argument chiefly relied upon, is the danger apprehended from the unrestrained roving of Europeans in Hindustan; from the injuries inflicted by their lawless or imprudent conduct, and the provocation given by them to the natives of the country, and from the degradation of the European character in the eyes of the native inhabitants.

"Now it is not by any means a natural or necessary consequence of permitting a free resort of British-born subjects to India, that they are to be let loose and exonerated from salutary restraint and control when scattered over the country. If the laws, which exist for the administration of civil justice and of police, are not sufficiently strong, and do not invest the local authorities and provincial judicatures with competent powers of jurisdiction, the defect is not irremediable. It is but necessary to strengthen the hands of local officers; to give them the extent of authority over the British-born subject which they have over other inhabitants; to take away

the exception, and withdraw the privilege of exemption, if privilege it be, which serves as a reason for a disability.

"It is not to be dissembled that the European, that the descendant of the Gothic race, that the white man, and above all the Englishman, is full of prejudices, and governed in his intercourse with men of other nations, and other complexions, by a repulsive dislike of strangers, an unjust contempt and deep aversion, amounting in an illiberal mind to a contemptuous hatred of men of a dark hue. The conduct of the lower British in their dealings with men of colour in either of the Indies is but too often influenced by such feelings. The arrogance of the white man, a serious evil in all countries that contain a mixed population, is aggravated in British colonies by the arrogance of a truly English feeling, which looks down upon every foreigner and despises every stranger. It aggravates domestic, or, which is worse, prœdial slavery, in the West Indies: it is the cause of much mischief in the East. But, confined as it is to the British-born subject, to the European Briton, and not shared by his creole offspring, it furnishes no reason against the establishment of the descendants of those who are suffered to resort to India, nor any cogent argument for more than a very strong power of control over the European there. The creole offspring is, as may be confidently affirmed and maintained, unexceptionably fit to be a settler, or, in short, a colonist of India.

"The illegitimate offspring is privileged; it is only the legitimate descendant, the lawful issue of the European, who, like him, is debarred from acquiring property in land, from becoming owner of an estate in the country of his birth. The restrictive rule had its origin in an unworthy, not to say groundless, distrust. It carried the remedy far beyond the evil, and established a sweeping one, when a much more confined one would have amply sufficed: it remains in force, after the reason of the law has totally ceased, and for a different end from that which was contemplated by its enactment.

"A gradual increase of the bastard race from continual accessions to it, joined with the augmentation of numbers in its posterity, may be expected to take place, and to constitute a progressive colonization in fact, notwithstanding the opposition ineffectually given to it. This, doubtless, is in some degree actually in progress; but it proceeds less rapidly than might have been anticipated. The mixed race melts quickly on either side; into the white creole, on the one part, by the intermarriages of the women with the European sojourners (for settlers they are not permitted to be); and into the dark native Christian, on the other, by the mixture of the men with native women more swarthy than themselves.

"It is to be lamented that the race of native Christians is in India a degraded one. The pride of caste among the Hindus does not singly account even for the contempt felt and shown by the Hindus towards them. No such contempt is manifested towards the Mahommedans, nor towards the European Christians. There are undoubtedly circumstances of diet and uncleanliness, which tend to lower the Christian in the eyes of both the Mahommedan and the Hindu. A man imbued with rigid habits prides himself upon his abstemious and cleanly observances. His abstinence from abominations, his attention to prescribed ablutions, become matters of temporal, if not of spiritual pride. The habitual disregard of these matters is a source of contemptuous feeling. The feeder upon things held in abomination is execrated, and he is scorned for his negligence of ablutions. These feelings are not counteracted by any contrary association with sentiments of respect. The European holds himself aloof from the native Christian, and no portion of the veneration which is directed towards him is reflected upon his humble brother in religion.

"A settlement of the creole in India would tend to the removal of this evil; for an evil it is. His feelings would be more consonant to those of the native Christian. He would

be the link to unite the Christian tribe, to raise the inferior portion of the chain without lowering the superior. Like the Muselman, the Christian may become a tribe, holding a respectable rank in the mixed society and varied population of India. Then, and not till then, will temporal causes cease to be opposed to spiritual ones, for effecting any large conversion of natives from their ancient religion to the Christian. Conviction does not easily reach the mind of one who, becoming a proselyte, must descend from a decent rank in society to one degraded and discountenanced. When the native Christian, on the contrary, is countenanced, not merely by the number of his brethren, but by the reflective lustre of those who differ, not in faith, but in colour and origin, he will soon have numerous associates.

"In a political view a Christian population, holding a decent rank in the motley throng of tribes and castes, would add to the strength of the state and probable duration of the empire. Such colonization, far from being likely to terminate in separation of the colony from the governing state, would serve to perpetuate the union and maintain the authority of the ruling power. The establishment of that domination has been assisted, and its maintenance facilitated, by the disunion arising from difference of religion and habits, among a people consisting of tribes so dissimilar as the Hindu and Muselman. If one more tribe, not less dissimilar, be added to the mixture in notable proportion, this could not but be a source of security, especially since the tribe, the augmentation of which is the object under consideration, is one whose attachment and interest must lead it to wish well to the governing power, to uphold it as a protector, to cherish it as a defender, instead of entertaining feelings of indifference and disaffection, which unfriendly sentiments cannot but be ascribed, though doubtless in unequal degrees, to the other tribes.

"In a different view, which belongs to considerations less elevated, but more nearly connected with the principal subject

treated in this tract, a colonization of India, as an introduction of a Christian class in the aggregate population, and in suitable proportion to other classes, and holding a decent rank among them, is desirable, since it could not but promote intimate intercourse between the two countries. With habits more analagous to those of Europe, with dispositions and inclinations turned more towards it, the Christians of India would be better customers for the manufactures of Europe. Were they numerous and opulent, they would largely consume the wrought goods of Great Britain. All that is requisite, and here pleaded for, is to permit the natural course of things to take effect, instead of restraining and obstructing it; to suffer European British subjects and their offspring to acquire property, and settle in India; to allow the importation of the produce of India, including corn and other articles of primary necessity, into Great Britain, in common with the productions of other British territories abroad, and under the same or similar laws.

"But, after all, should colonization in India terminate in the apprehended result of ultimate separation and independence, as may with more confidence be foretold in regard to colonies established in new countries, Nova Scotia and the Canadas, Sierra Leone and South Africa, New Holland and adjacent islands, is such a separation to be viewed as a public evil and national ill? It can take place but at full maturity. Ages must pass away before the so much deprecated colonization could produce, or even tend to produce, that event,—an event, which, in the case of India, is likely to occur much earlier from quite contrary causes, if they be not meantime counteracted by these very means. Allow it to become a colony, if it can become one, and the maxim will hold for this as for every other; that when a populous colony, ripe for self-government, asserts its independence, the separation is in truth advantageous to both countries. Instead of breeding ill-blood, it is to be hailed as a common benefit. On this first point

enough was before said. It need not be further argued in this place."

From the appearance of this volume until the foundation of the Asiatic Society gave a new impulse to his Oriental studies, nothing was published by him beyond a few contributions to the Linnean and Geological Societies, and to the Quarterly Journal of the Royal Institution. In 1818 he presented his valuable collection of Sanscrit manuscripts[1] to the East India Company, a step which might seem to denote an intention to forego the researches which had been the pursuit of his life, and it is probable that the fascination of his chemical and other scientific studies, in which he was much engaged at this time, may have led him the more willingly to part with his valuable collection; but the motives which chiefly influenced his decision were higher and public minded. They were often expressed to his sons. He had in his possession a collection which was unrivalled, and dealt with a literature that was, year by year, attracting more attention among Continental as well as English scholars. He felt that he could not deny access on their part to these stores; but the custody

[1] The following memorandum was supplied to me by Dr. R. Rost, the present Librarian of the India Office, and will convey a general idea of the character of this collection:—"The MS. list of your father's Sanscrit MSS., which was, I presume, prepared for him by a native scribe before he left India, gives the following items:—

"Mantra (prayers, etc.)	56
Vaidya (medicine)	57
Jyotisha (astronomy)	67
Vyâkarana (grammar)	135
Vedânta	149
Nyâya	100
Véda	211
Purâna	239
Dharmás'astra (law)	251
Kâvya, nâtaka, alankâra	200
Kósha (dictionaries)	61
MSS. of all kinds	52 bundles.

"The list gives the contents of each *volume*, and where there is more than one work or treatise in a volume, the new title is marked with red ink. But the above enumeration is by volumes, with the exception of the last item, in which a very large number of treatises is comprised."

on such terms was certain to become onerous, and could not be undertaken by him without a more expensive residence, and the assistance of a librarian. As he was about to move to London, and already provided with a large library, which he had inherited from his father, the former difficulty promised to be a serious one. In making them over to a great corporation like the East India Company, he had a guarantee that the interests of literature and science would be fully considered. It is a proof of the confidence he placed in them that the terms in which this munificent present was conveyed are as laconic as if the transaction belonged to the mercantile department of that great company. They are subjoined. It may be added that the offer was accepted with similar brevity, but with a handsome acknowledgment of the public spirit of the donor.

"*London, April*, 1819.

"SIR,

"Intending to present to the Honourable East India Company, to be deposited in their library and museum, my collection of Oriental Manuscripts, consisting chiefly of Sanscrit and Pracrit works, I have the honour through you to make the offer of it to the Honourable Court of Directors, on the sole condition that I may have free access to it, with leave to have any number of books from it for my own use at home, to be sent to me from time to time, on my requisition in writing to the librarian to that effect, and to be returned by me at my convenience.

"To facilitate access it may be necessary that the books should be arranged and a catalogue of them prepared, but on this point I do not think it requisite to make any stipulation, or offer any particular suggestion.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"H. COLEBROOKE.

"Dr. Wilkins."

This account of this brief but important transaction may

be closed with an extract from the draft of a letter in Mr. Colebrooke's handwriting bearing on its history. It is addressed to a German correspondent, probably A. von Schlegel, with whom he occasionally corresponded. The manuscripts were bought by him at different periods, as opportunity offered of adding to his stores; and it is a curious testimony to his practical sagacity that he should have, from preference, selected the leaden instead of the golden casket.

"The carelessness of the native editors and publishers of works in India, joined with the ravages of worms and termites is very discouraging to the importation of books thence. Your animadversions are well merited. I could never impress on the native correctors of the press, while I was there, the duty and necessity of careful revision. They are slovenly with the press, as with manuscripts, which are commonly very incorrect. It was, on that account, my habit to purchase old manuscripts, which had been much read and studied, in preference to ornamented and splendid transcripts imperfectly corrected. I feel it difficult to answer your inquiry concerning the price of manuscripts in India. When I was myself residing in the vicinity of Benares, I was enabled to purchase books at moderate prices. At all other places I found them very dear, and the expense of transcripts properly made was enormous. I should be at a loss to recommend to you an agent who would take sufficient care, and would rather advise your purchasing in England, where Oriental manuscripts are sometimes for sale, falling into the hands of Orientalists."

I must now revert to some circumstances connected with Mr. Colebrooke's domestic life, deeply affecting his happiness, and causing for a time an almost entire cessation from labour. In 1818, while residing at Hampstead, his family circle was enlarged by the arrival of two nieces, the daughters of his eldest brother. They had been recently separated from the charge of their nearest relative by the action of the Courts of Law in Scotland. Attempts were made to remove them by force

from the charge of their uncle and his aged mother. These appeals to force were followed up by proceedings in Chancery, carried against him in a virulent spirit, and prolonged for some years. It will be seen from a passage in a letter to Sir Thomas Strange of a later date that this affected him most painfully. The deep attachment with which he was regarded by his nieces added to the anxieties of his charge, and, during the time that the litigation lasted, it occupied all his thoughts. He was supported in every step taken for their protection by the Court of Chancery; and they were placed under his guardianship, and remained members of his family until their untimely death, which closed their sad and romantic history.

The litigation was scarcely closed before he was obliged, by the state of his property at the Cape, to undertake a voyage to that colony, which caused an absence from England of upwards of a year. The purchase was a speculative one, the land consisting of a tract near Saldanha Bay; a splendid harbour, but deficient in the essential requisite of supplies of fresh water. Mr. Colebrooke's sanguine mind saw in it the nucleus of a great colony, and he meditated plans of improvement tinged with the scientific character of his mind. Among his papers were an essay on the formation of reservoirs of water suited to such a locality, treated with reference to the geology and meteorology of the country, common-place books containing lists of plants suited to the climate of the Cape, with their botanical synonyms, and a diligent record of experiments undertaken for the cultivation of the camphor tree, the olive, and the vine.

The agent placed in charge of the estate, a connection of his family, too readily seconded his expensive plans, and his drafts became so heavy that Mr. Colebrooke was obliged to proceed to the spot. The further history of this unfortunate purchase may be closed by simply stating that it was throughout unprofitable and ultimately parted with at a heavy loss. To the last, however, he was sanguine of the future of

the colony, and a zealous advocate of the merits of its wine. His cellars were filled with the produce of its vineyards, and nothing would afford him greater triumph than to receive from a guest a testimony in its favour, without being warned as to the country of its origin. The literary fruits of his connection with this colony were the Essays on the Climate of South Africa, and on the Meteorology of the Atlantic, published in the Journal of the Royal Institution, which have been already adverted to. He also edited a volume on the Political Condition and Administration of the Colony of the Cape, by a member of the colonial service, illustrating it with copious notes in the form of an appendix. They are the fruit of much industry and observation, and embrace a variety of topics succinctly treated, from the paper currency and the prospects of settlers to essays on the wines and brandies of the colony.

Some of these notes, illustrative of the manners of the Dutch settlers and of the condition of the slave population, which came under his observation during a visit to the interior, are here inserted; and I have also added his remarks on the resources of the colony and suggestions for their development.

"VENDITIE.

"A friend purposing to attend a public sale in a remote part of Zwartland, invited me to accompany him. I availed myself of this opportunity to see the humours of a *venditie*. An auction in the country is an important event for the vicinage. It furnishes, what is there extremely rare, a cheerful pastime. A wedding and an auction are the only occasions of lively assemblage. The resort of boers, with their families, from the neighbourhood is general; from distant places, frequent.

"The ladies repair to the *venditie* dressed as for a gay assembly. The men resort to it as they would to a fair or a country wake. In the present instance people flocked to the sale from a distance of two or three days' journey. The

visitors are received as guests; a public dinner is given; and if the sale be prolonged to the following day, a supper too; and again a public dinner on the morrow. Meantime, wine is poured forth without stint to all comers, from morning till night. So much is hospitable entertainment expected at a *venditie*, that for a sale of few articles of little value, when no such feast is meant to be given, the notice of sale includes an intimation of the omission: 'No dinner will be given, but a good glass of wine.'

"The scene of a *venditie* is not unlike a country fair, and reminds a spectator of many a picture from the Flemish School. Merry revellers grouped in one quarter; sots lying drunk in another; busy dealers trafficking in one place; the auctioneer perched upon his waggon, slowly vending the tardy lots; vehicles of divers kinds around; cattle, implements, utensils, the subjects of sale, scattered about. At a South African sale, a variety of dress and figure, countenances and complexions, adds to the diversity of a scene, to which Dutch and negro, Hottentots and Malay, equally contribute.

"The land-boer, at whose house this sale took place, had not long before made a similar one, to effect a distribution of property between him and his children, upon the decease of his wife; for in virtue of community of property between husband and wife under the Dutch laws, the demise of one involves dissolution of partnership, and consequent partition of effects in favour of the heirs of the deceased: an impolitic law as it concerns land. The occasion of the present sale was disgust taken by the boer at a complaint having been entertained against him, as preferred by one of his slaves, for alleged ill-usage. It was dismissed on trial, and the slave punished for a groundless and frivolous complaint; but the old boer was so indignant at having been rendered amenable to a court at the instance of his slave, that he determined to relinquish his farm to his sons, and retire from active operation. In consequence of this resolution, the sale took place,

and was little more than nominal, as every valuable article was bought in or withdrawn, to the no small disappointment of those who did not, like myself, come to be merely spectators.

"The old boer was in person an apt specimen of the ancient colonists of South Africa. Very tall and very corpulent, he but just passed through the ample doors of his dwelling. Supported by his staff, he slowly stalked about, scattering his surly responses. In this last respect he differs from his countrymen; who in general, phlegmatic as no doubt they are, yet are affable, good-tempered, and not devoid of genuine but coarse humour.

"My saddle-horse having fallen lame, I was obliged to remain with my fellow-traveller, sharing his travelling waggon, so long as the objects of his journey detained him; which included a visit to another *venditie*, two days afterwards, in the vicinity of Riebeck's Kasteel, a hill, which, with the district bearing its name, I was not sorry to explore. The sale, taking place for quite a different reason from the former (namely, liquidation of debts), was less the scene of jollity and frolic, and had more the air of an assemblage on business. Perhaps difference of weather, in the one instance rainy, in the other sultry, contributed to the diversity of the scenes, and different tone of them.

"I here witnessed, for the first time, an auction of slaves in South Africa. It is conducted somewhat differently from a sale of negroes in Brazil, and from that of domestic slaves in the East Indies, in both of which countries I have been present at this touching scene. Many of the slaves, both among those who were to be sold, and among those who were reserved, appeared to be deeply affected by the approaching separation from friends with whom they had long shared servitude. Several were bathed in tears, others lamented aloud.

"The subject exposed for sale is placed upon a table, for more convenient view; not handled and closely inspected as

at a sale of imported negroes in South America, but interrogated as to qualifications and blemishes. Upon such occasions, coarse jokes are not unfrequent, and greatly add to the disgust which the scene cannot but excite, in a mind endowed with sensibility. In the present instance, there was little that passed of this nature. The sale proceeded gravely and simply, as a mere affair of business. A woman, with four young children, was the most remarkable lot, and scarcely had the sale been concluded, when a profit on the lot was offered to the purchaser, and accepted by him. Female slaves fetch relatively high prices, because their future offspring is bought with them. The acquisition of a male slave is a life interest, that of a female is considered to be a perpetual heritage. This expectation will, it is hoped, be disappointed. That some modification of slavery in this respect may soon take place is devoutly to be wished. The future offspring of female slaves ought to be declared by prospective legislation free; subject only to an apprenticeship, sufficient to remunerate amply the owners of the female slave, for bringing up her children, until they shall become of an age to render profitable service.

"The price of slaves in South Africa has fallen somewhat, within a few years past. Shortly after the abolition of the slave trade it advanced greatly, as was the natural result of a diminished supply and continued demand.

The proportion of male to female slaves at that time was nearly two to one, or more nearly nineteen to ten. The proportion of full-grown slaves to children, at a somewhat early period was about three to one. A considerable time would necessarily elapse before the disproportion of male to female, and of grown persons to children, would disappear. Meanwhile the number of labouring slaves must be in progress of diminution, while the total number increased, and the value of a slave in prime of life could not but advance accordingly. Official returns show that the number of male slaves has been

barely kept up by propagation, while that of females has yearly increased; and it appears from the registry of slaves, that the increase or excess of births above deaths of male slaves now is little more than one per cent., while that of females amounts to two and a half per cent. The mean, which is fifteen per *mille*, aided by accession of free labourers, is sufficient to face the demand on labour and keep down the prices."

"RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF SLAVES AND HOTTENTOTS.

"Mohammedanism is said to be gaining ground among the slaves and free people of colour at the Cape; that is to say, more converts among negroes and blacks of every description are made from Paganism to the Musleman, than to the Christian religion, notwithstanding the zealous exertions of pious missionaries. One cause of this perversion is asserted to be a marked disinclination of slave owners to allow their slaves to be baptized; arising from some erroneous notions or overcharged apprehensions of the rights which a baptized slave acquires. Slaves are certainly impressed with the idea that such a disinclination subsists, and it is not an unfrequent answer of a slave, when asked his motives for turning Musleman, that 'some religion he must have, and he is not allowed to turn Christian.'

"Prejudices in this respect are wearing away; and less discouragement is now given to the conversion of slaves than heretofore. Masters, it is affirmed, begin to find that their slaves serve not the worse for instruction received in religious duties. Missionaries who devote themselves especially to the religious instruction of slaves (and there is one in each of the principal towns), have increasing congregations, and hope that their labours are not unfruitful. But the Musleman priest, with less exertion, has a greater flock.

"Considered with reference solely to temporal views, the prevalence of Mohammedanism among the slaves of Christian

masters, must be deemed a political evil. The difference of colour furnishes already but too broad a line of distinction. Add the difference of religion, and the line of demarcation becomes yet wider and deeper. A hostile feeling, nursed by religious animosity, may excite the slave against the master, and the colonist of South Africa may, ere long, find himself (as the earlier colonists did amidst newly-imported slaves) surrounded by domestic foes.

"On the other hand, it is made a question, still with reference to worldly considerations only, whether the Mohammedan slave make not a better servant than the Christian. His sobriety, as is affirmed, makes amends for some ill habits attendant on Mohammedanism. Christians, slaves as freemen, blacks no less than whites, are, it is lamentable to say, drunken.

"Missionaries of all sects, in their establishments, where they have assembled Hottentots to civilize and instruct them, have wisely followed the example of the earlier Moravian missions, in making lessons of industry go hand in hand with religious instruction. I am led to think that they have improved upon that model. In the vicinity of a Moravian mission, there is not now much benefit observed to flow from that institution. Within its limit, a certain degree of industry exists, sufficient to provide for few and simple wants. The Hottentots, residing there, work just enough for their support. But the village furnishes no artisans to the neighbourhood, no day labourers, scarcely any servants. At the Protestant missionary stations, more instances are to be found of acquired wealth among the Hottentots, more refined wants, more persevering industry for the gratification of them. In civilization, the Moravian Hottentots make no advance beyond the first step; they are stationary. The others exhibit manifest progress, and a useful class of artisans is rising up among them.

"Beyond the proper limits of the colony, the labours of the Protestant missionaries have been yet more conspicuously

beneficial than within its boundary. Missionary stations have grown into villages, not to say towns (for instance, Klaarfontein or Griqua-town), where agriculture is thriving. Amity has been established in solitudes, where private warfare alone raged. Even the lonely bushman appears to be reclaimed, and resorts to the haunts of men. This change has no doubt been brought about partly by the silent operation of mere forbearance, since the colonists upon the frontier have been effectually restrained from hunting down the bushmen, to slay them in the thicket; and partly by the direct effort of the missionaries' exertions, to soothe and familiarize them. Thus domesticated, they become, and are becoming, servants of colonists, whose flocks and herds are pastured near the frontier.

"The whole tract between the declared boundaries of the colony of the Cape and the great Orange River is fast becoming a dependency of the Cape, without being formally included in its domain. It is an arid region, and no valuable acquisition to the colony of South Africa. Such as it is, however, it will at no distant time become an accession of territory, which will probably extend the colonial limits to the Orange River, and make this the boundary, which, it must be confessed, in its present circumstances, is the natural one."

"RESOURCES.

"It is at all times with the utmost deference for the author's ampler knowledge, derived from long acquaintance with South Africa, that I intimate any dissent from his opinion. I cannot, however, think quite so ill of the future prospect and resources of the Cape as the text seems to express.

"Though good soil, well situated, is there scarce, comparatively with the prevalent barren rock of mountainous ranges, the sand and gravel of downs and heaths, and sterile ground rendered so by situation, notwithstanding its natural fertility, as the elevated arid plains of the Karroo; yet there is still much good corn-land on either side of the great chain

of mountains; both in the western districts, which are esteemed the granary of the old colony, and within the chain of mountains, or beyond it, where difficulty of transport has opposed obstacles, not however to be considered as utterly insurmountable.

"To any person who has viewed the more arid countries of Asia, whether Arabia or Western India, or the less arid of the South of Europe, and has likewise visited South Africa, it is apparent the Colony of the Cape is yet unprovided with suitable means of transport for internal traffic. It has not the appropriate beast of burden. The ox seems ill-adapted to the purpose for which it is there employed. The mule or the camel would most likely be preferable. The ox is sluggish, and suffers much by heat and drought. The mule is hardy, and capable of much labour, with scanty and coarse fare. Still more so the camel, which is the fittest of animals for arid countries in hot climates.

"When the mule shall have become common, or perhaps when the camel shall have been introduced and become so, Cape Town, and any other town which may have advanced in populousness, will draw ampler supplies than at present, with greater facility, from remoter stations; from places where the husbandman now restricts his agricultural exertions to raise barely enough for the use of his family, because a surplus would not defray the charge of transport to a distant market. With better means of conveyance of his produce, with camels as carriage cattle, or with mules for draught or burden, he would have the opportunity of profitably sending a surplus production from the arable of his farm to a remote mart.

"It is much to be wished, therefore, that the fostering hand of Government should be stretched forth to accomplish the introduction of a breeding stock of camels from India or from Arabia; and likewise of Arabian or Spanish asses. The difficulties in the way of their introduction are not to be overcome, in present circumstances, by unaided enterprise of individuals,

but would be light, and would be easily surmounted, were the matter undertaken under the auspices of the Government.

"Arid countries, such as South Africa, are peculiarly favourable to the breed of asses, as of horses; and no doubt can be entertained that, with very little encouragement, the Cape may soon possess an approved breed of both animals, and not only become sufficiently stocked with mules, but at an early period export instead of importing them. Among objects of agricultural industry, for neglect of which the planters at the Cape are reproached, as not having made sufficient trial of them, most of those which the author has noticed, in vindicating the Cape-boers from that imputation, are certainly unpromising. For some the soil is unsuited, for others the climate; the winter is too severe for certain productions, or the summer is too dry. Yet there are many objects, not comprehended in that enumeration, which are more promising, and of which no sufficient trial appears to have been made. The olive is, perhaps, in that predicament; the cork-tree likewise; and most likely the date. They are productions of soil and climate analagous to South Africa, especially the cork and the date.

"Not improbably the silkworm might thrive; possibly the cochineal, or else the kermes, or the lac insect. Beehives might be profitable for their wax. The tea-plant should be attempted, for the Cape has been repeatedly named by judicious writers[1] as a place where it is likely to succeed. The districts of China in which the tea-plant is successfully cultivated lie between the latitudes 25° and 35°; the situations best adapted to it are hilly, and even mountainous, the soil is gravel, derived from disintegrated granite.

"The culture of alkaline plants for barilla is evidently indicated by soil, situation, and climate.

"A list of subjects for experiment, which offer a reasonable presumption of advantageous result, might be easily enlarged

[1] Charpentier Cossigny, p. 64; Clarke Abel, p. 223, and others.

with reasons for entertaining expectations of success, if a fair trial is made in South Africa. But it is sufficient to state, as a general position, that vegetable productions of temperate and warm climates may be expected to succeed at the Cape, provided the known habitudes of the plants are not incompatible with drought in summer, or wet weather in the cold season. The various productions of colder climates here constitute a winter crop; those of hotter climates a summer one; but since drought prevails in the hot season, and winter in the time of the rains, those tropical plants which need much moisture cannot be expected to succeed in the one, nor such productions of cold climates as fear it in the other.

"A botanical and horticultural establishment at the Cape of Good Hope would be of the utmost utility, if instituted for practical no less than scientific purposes: to advance the science of botany and the art of horticulture, and, at the same time to serve as a nursery for the introduction and propagation of exotics, and dissemination of useful plants in South Africa.

"From a garden established and maintained with such views, or through the facilities which the superintendent of it might and should afford, the agriculturist would obtain seeds of new varieties of every sort of corn, with various other objects of field culture familiar to temperate climates, or even warmer or colder countries. The horticulturist would be furnished with seeds and stocks of fruit trees, culinary vegetables, and ornamental plants, from every quarter, likely to thrive at the Cape. The planter would be supplied with young timber, or other useful plants or seeds, for his woods and coppice. Much is yet to be learned at the Cape in regard to gardening, planting, and agriculture. Profitable fruits yet unknown there may be advantageously introduced in a climate unquestionably favourable to the production of fruits. Green and dry fodder of all kinds, yet untried and unthought of, may be brought into use where fodder for cattle is so much

wanted as it there is. Varieties of corn, less affected by irregularity of season than those which are now cultivated, may be beneficially propagated.

"Small trials might be made, upon the result of which larger experiments might be advised, and seed could be furnished for that purpose, whence useful objects would gradually gain attention of cultivators.

"Here the tea-plant, which Mr. Clarke Abel recently, after visiting the interior of China, judged likely to thrive at the Cape, might be tried; and, as at Brazil, the probable success of the experiment might be promoted by assistance of a few Chinese, accustomed to the culture of tea. Here the white mulberry, and upon it the silkworm, might be nursed; persons conversant with the management of silkworms being purposely provided as instructors, either from China, from Bengal, or from the south of Europe. Such undertakings are beyond the reach of individual enterprise, and can only be attempted with the aid or under the patronage of Government.

"Under such superintendence, and with the protection and assistance of Government, the *ricinus* with its silkworm from the north-east of Bengal, may be tried: the *cactus opuntia*, with the cochineal, from South America; the *quercus coccifera*, with the kermes, from the Levant; *quercus suber*, from Spain, or the south-west of France; the *phœnix dactylifera*, from Arabia. New varieties of grapes and of olives may be introduced. Dyeing drugs, of various sorts, from divers countries; medicinal plants from different climates; alkaline plants fit to be cultivated for barilla; vegetable productions of every kind, adapted for local use, or capable of becoming objects of export, may be disseminated.

"The whole expense of such a botanical establishment and nursery of plants need not be great. It would be repaid ten thousand fold, by the public benefits which would flow from the institution."

Mr. Colebrooke's active mind was far from exhausted by

these inquiries. On another subject he rendered great public service by pressing on the Government the necessity for some reform of the law and judicature of the colony. From his first connection with the Cape he had been the medium of communication with the Government on the part of some of the English settlers. The most important of their grievances referred to the law. When the colony was conquered from the Dutch, the principles of its former legal administration had been retained, and are thus described by Mr. Colebrooke in a memorandum which was evidently intended to be submitted to the Government. "The Magistracy and Courts of Justice, the law which is administered, and the mode of administering it, yet remain upon the Dutch model. Some modifications have been introduced by British authority; but the character of the courts of judicature continues essentially Dutch. The proceedings are held and recorded in the Dutch language; an Englishman within British dominion needs an interpreter to understand or be understood in a cause where his property is at stake, or his life or his honour concerned. I wish to tread lightly over this ground, but sincerity compels me to say that the administration of justice at the Cape does not give satisfaction. Gathering the sentiments of English inhabitants and of Creole Dutch, from casual conversation and from incidental observation, I must acknowledge that the judicature is not generally well spoken of. Some individuals invested with the judicial authority are respected. But the prevalent impression is not what it would be desirable it should be. There is not that reverence for judges and magistrates; there is not that opinion of their learning and ability; there is not that reliance on their independence, integrity, and impartiality, which conciliate regard, and uphold authority."

The memorandum traces these evils to defects in the constitution of the tribunal, and in the law, especially the latter. The reforms which he advocated would, in his opinion, lead to every other needful amendment, and espe-

cially to the rise of a vigilant and independent Bar, which would prove the proper guarantee of integrity on the Bench. More than that, he says: "An English administration of justice would generally bring about amendment in the law, rendering it more certain, more definite, more consonant to English feelings. The local law would, by degrees, approach nearer to the excellence of English jurisprudence. To Dutch jurisprudence in general, founded as it is upon the civil law, no cogent objection perhaps exists, but to the exposition of it, as at the Cape it is expounded. Ordinances of Dutch colonial authorities, proclamations of British governors, usages and precedents of local tribunals, furnish ground for deviation from the principles and maxims of ancient juridical wisdom; and introduce an uncertainty, which leaves to parties no means of regulating their transactions and conduct in conformity with previously known rules. The old inhabitant knows not, the new colonist is unable to learn, the rule by which his actions and dealings should be governed."

He reverts to the subject in a letter of which the draft is in my possession, and which I refrain from inserting, on account of its length. It is addressed to Mr. Goulbourn, through the medium of his friend Mr. Ricketts. The Government, while alive to the importance of the improvement of the Courts of judicature, seems to have hesitated about introducing changes in the law; on which latter point Mr. Colebrooke must have addressed them in a separate memorandum. He presses for no premature and violent changes in a system to which the people might be supposed to be attached by habit and prejudice; but he adduces facts in support of his view that the colony was ripe for a change, which would pave the way for the gradual introduction of English laws, manners, and feelings, into a British possession. The letter also deals with another social question of equal importance, the gradual abolition of slavery; and he strongly recommends that all children born after a certain date should

be declared free. On both these questions he presses very strongly for some action on the part of the Government. With regard to the judicature, he goes no further than urging inquiry; and he was informed by his correspondent that the subject was under the immediate consideration of the Government. Indeed, the grievance was so glaring that the action of the Government was prompt, and, before his return to England, he was informed of the appointment of a Commission, of which his relative, the late Sir William Colebrooke, was a member. The labours of the Commission were not closed until 1826, when their reports were sent in, and the reform advocated by Mr. Colebrooke was acted upon in the issue of a new charter of justice, and the appointment of English judges to the colony.

CHAPTER XII.—1823–1837.

Return to England—Essay on Hindu Courts of Justice—Foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society—Correspondence with Professor H. H. Wilson—Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus—Family Losses—Failure of Health, and Death—List of Works.

Mr. Colebrooke returned to England in the summer of 1822, and was met, on his arrival at his own door, by the unexpected intelligence of the death of his youngest niece; she died at the early age of nineteen. It was the first of a series of family losses that followed in succession, and clouded the last years of his life. His health, too, had somewhat failed of late, though he still retained the active habits to which he had been accustomed from early life, habits which are so important for health in the enervating climate of India. He was an early riser, a morning student, and a good walker; but the two-fold effect of climate and intense study had begun to tell on a naturally good constitution, and he was unequal to the severe tasks of his middle age. A letter to Sir Thomas Strange, bearing the date of 31st March, 1823, from which an extract is here subjoined, slightly alludes to the harassed state of his mind at this time. It will prepare the reader for the final abandonment of the works here referred to:

"Nothing has been published by me on the Law of Contracts, nor any other topic of jurisprudence, since the treatise on Obligations, which I published a few years ago, as the first

part of a larger work. Shortly afterwards, while I was preparing the sequel of it for the press, I became involved in most vexatious proceedings in Chancery, by which I was so much harassed for many years, that I could attend to nothing else requiring any stretch of application. Since those troublesome proceedings were terminated, (which was a little before my trip to the Cape), I have been unable to resume the habits requisite to the prosecution of that work, nor do I now expect to be able to do so. I have neither health nor spirits for the undertaking, and cannot bring myself to make the effort of setting about it. I do not think I shall ever execute any other task which requires continued attention and uninterrupted application for many days.

"I have it in contemplation to prepare a preface and introduction to the Treatise on Obligations, as a single work, and give it with the notice of my final relinquishment of the greater work. The treatise is complete in itself, wanting nothing but a preface.

"The Supplementary Digest, which I long ago announced, has been many years by me complete in Sanscrit, and in great forwardness in translation, and might be sent to the press at very short warning, and finished as the press proceeded. But I have been deterred from the publication, observing it to be very little called for; and, unless I should perceive such a call, I shall let it remain unpublished."

In closing the account of his long labours on his Supplementary Digest, it may be added that the only publication which resulted from them, in addition to the translations of the treatises on Inheritance, was an essay on Hindu Courts of Justice, which he contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1828.

As a picture of manners during the time that Hindu laws and administration were in vigour, and as illustrative of the political condition of the people, this sketch is of great value, and serves to qualify the unfavourable estimate we should

form of the state of the country in ancient times, did we rely on the institutes of Menu alone. The only difficulty that is experienced in accepting this account as descriptive of the state of legal administration at any one time, arises from the materials being collected from a variety of legal treatises, many of them of uncertain date, and probably extending over a considerable period.[1] Making every allowance for this difficulty (and the student is, to a certain degree, enabled to judge of its extent, as the authorities are in every case quoted for each statement), the account is a most interesting one; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that justice must have been administered during a considerable period of Indian history, with a regularity, respect for established law, and with a recognition of the importance of public opinion, which we do not find in her later history.[2] I refer to the completeness of the machinery for the administration of justice in town and country; the endeavour to call in the aid of associations of artisans, assemblies of townsmen, members of crafts, castes, or religious orders, in matters specially appertaining to their customs; and, further, to the recognition of the audience as a component part of the court. The freedom which, in theory at least, was allowed to bystanders, "skilled in jurisprudence," to declare their opinion, and the invitation to commercial men to attend the court, bespeak greater freedom of Government than we are accustomed to associate with Eastern and especially Indian administration.

Notwithstanding the depressed tone of the letter last quoted, Mr. Colebrooke was happily able to resume his literary activity, and give to the world in rapid succession some of the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the literature and

[1] Professor H. H. Wilson was of opinion that the most important of these works were compiled at a period "not long subsequent to the code of Menu, if not contemporary." See his note to Mill's History, Vol. I. p. 213.

[2] For the changes which have taken place in the administration of law in Hindu Governments in modern times, see the remarks in Elphinstone's History, Book II. cap. 3.

philosophy of the East. In March, 1823, within a few days from the date of his letter to Sir T. Strange, he joined with many of his literary friends in the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society; and on the first meeting of its members, which took place at his residence, he delivered his address on the object and aims of the new institution, a step which in some measure pledged him to renewed exertions in his old field. A very general desire was expressed that he should become the first president of the Society; and it is perhaps to be regretted that he did not accept a position to which he was entitled as the first of our Oriental scholars, and which would have reflected credit on the Society itself. Mr. Colebrooke declined the offer, and advised his friends to select a person having some higher position in society than his own; but though I have a distinct recollection that this was the avowed motive for declining the honourable post, it is clear, from the letters to Sir Thomas Strange, that his failing health was a far more probable cause for shrinking from the responsibility of the position on this occasion. No one more zealously maintained the claims of the republic of letters and science to respect, independent of the patronage of the great. It has been already stated that he accepted, without misgivings, the office of President of the Astronomical Society in 1824, the year following the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society. The office of Director was created by the members of the Asiatic Society to mark their desire to retain his name on their governing body.

This will be the most convenient place for giving insertion to some letters addressed to the late Professor H. H. Wilson. They form a portion only of a correspondence which extended over several years, commencing from the date of Mr. Colebrooke's departure from India. The letters refer chiefly to matters of business connected with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, Mr. Colebrooke acting on their behalf in the purchase of books and other commissions. That portion only of

the correspondence which refers to the literary labours of those two eminent scholars is here given.

The extract from Professor Wilson's letter, with which the series commences, deals for the most part with subjects on which he has expressed himself more fully in his published works, more especially with reference to his translations from the Hindu Drama.

"*Calcutta, January 8th*, 1822.

"The intimation of your wish regarding Mons[r]. Chezy has been already complied with; he was elected an honorary member at the last meeting. Mr. Schlegel is also nominated in compliance with your suggestion, and, there is no doubt, will be elected at the next meeting of the Society, in April, notwithstanding he has been rather severe upon us in the 11th number of his "Indische Bibliotheke." I believe I may now lay down my character as secretary, and address you on my own account. I have many excuses to make for so long a neglect of a correspondence in which I have all to gain and little to offer; but I have been absent, ill and busy. At the time I sent my Dictionary home, I was on the eve of starting on Mint duty to Benares; and, in the bustle of preparation, was obliged to take the liberty of directing any copies you might wish for, as presents, where you might think them acceptable, to be placed at your disposal through my friend Mr. Paterson. Whilst at Benares I laboured under very bad health, and, since my return, I have had much and laborious occupation; I have not been idle, however, in the Sanscrit field. I have prepared for the 15th volume of the Researches an abridged translation of the Cashmir History, the Raja Taringiri, with copious illustrations of an historical or geographical character, and an historical account of all the Vaishnava sects known in Upper Hindustan. I am vain enough to think they both contain much curious and important matter. Another task I understand Mr. Paterson has apprized you of, a translation of

specimens of the Hindu drama. I have completed the translation of a very curious piece, the *Mrichhacatica*; it is attributed to King Sudraca, a king that Wilford places in the end of the 2nd century. The style shows it to be ancient, and it must have been written when the Bauddhas were tolerated, and to a certain extent patronized in Oujein. It is a comedy —the subject is the love of *Chárudatta*, a Brahman, and *Vasantoséna*, a courtezan, but it is quite free from indecency; their loves are disturbed by the pretensions of *Samasthánaca*, the king's brother-in-law, who is really a masterly character, exhibiting the worthlessness, arrogance, and ignorance of uneducated rank in India with great consistency and spirit. An humble friend of *Chárudatta* is the buffo of the play, and some of his hits are very good; the picture of domestic Hindu manners is very curious, and unmixed with anything like Moslem additions, and, altogether, I think the drama is one of the most interesting compositions Hindu literature has yet afforded. I have also finished the prose translation of the *Málati Mádhava*, but have versified only two acts; however, I can finish this at any time. I am now about to commence the *Mudra Rácshasa*. There is some difficulty about publishing, as I cannot afford to bear the cost myself, and the encouragement of the Government is restricted to class-books for the college. It has occurred to me that Murray might feel desirous of undertaking such a publication, but I have not yet heard his reply. There is no particular hurry, however, and it is not impossible I may manage the printing in Calcutta when the manuscript is fully prepared. When you are at leisure I shall be much obliged to you for your opinions on the design and best method of carrying it into effect; and, if an opportunity should occur of your talking with Mr. Murray on the subject, will feel farther obliged by your ascertaining his sentiments regarding the publication. I see that on the Continent at least, and apparently in England, the interest felt in Sanscrit literature gains ground. The French and

Germans are very zealous; and when political contests become less inveterate, as they seem likely to become, the subject will probably be honoured with some attention by English scholars and critics.

"Believe me, with the sincerest respect,

"Yours faithfully,

"H. H. Wilson.

"Government has authorized the establishment of a Hindu college in Calcutta. That at Benares, under the superintendence of Captain Fell, is in a highly flourishing condition."

The remainder of the series of extracts are from Mr. Colebrooke's letters.

"*London*, 30*th July*, 1822.

"I thank you for placing copies of your Dictionary at my disposal. It does not occur to me that I shall be likely to see occasion of availing myself of it further than for one for myself, which I have long since received, as, I believe, I acknowledged.

"Schlegel, in what he said of some of us (English Orientalists), and of our labours, did not purpose to be uncandid, nor to undervalue what has been done. In your summary of what he said you set it to the right account. I am not personally acquainted with him, though in correspondence I do think with him, that as much has not been done by the English as might have been expected from us. Excepting you and me, and two or three more, who is there that has done anything? In England nobody cares about Oriental literature, or is likely to give the least attention to it.

"If you still have a press at your own command, I should recommend your printing a small edition under your own eye, rather than send your dramas for publication here. I apprehend that very little would be given for copyright here; and you have to look to reputation rather than emolument from

your labours. Murray, when I spoke to him on the subject, wished to see the manuscript before he said anything positive. Indeed, that is the invariable answer.

"The *Mrich-catica* must be an interesting drama. I shall be anxious to see it in print and the Essays you mention for the next volume of Asiatic Researches.

"Do you not think that the *Málati Mádhava* would be better in prose than in verse? The trammels of poetry embarrass a translation a good deal.

"Yours,
"H. C."

"17*th November*, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your communication to the Royal Asiatic Society on the *Pancha-Tantra* is just now going to the press. It was read at two of the latter meetings of the session which terminated in June; too late to be voted into the fasciculus, or half-volume, which was then in course of printing. The fasciculus is now out, and, I hope, may be received as no unfavourable specimen of what the Royal Asiatic Society is likely to perform.

"As it is against the rules of this, as of other societies here, to give insertion to what has been published elsewhere, I used the permission you gave me to omit the introductory part which had before appeared in a periodical publication. For a like reason, to break the semblance of mere translation, two of the less interesting stories in the fifth *Tantra* have been left out purposely, to interrupt the continuity and preserve to the remainder the appearance of extracts and selections. A few, *very few*, notes have been added.

"I have lately been examining the facsimiles of inscriptions collected by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, which are deposited with his statistical reports in the Museum of the India House. There are several sufficiently interesting for publication; but

I believe I must await the arrival of the fifteenth volume of Asiatic Researches for particular information of the inscriptions translated by Capt. Fell and inserted in it, lest I should be publishing what has already been given there. For instance, I find one which confirms the date of the reign of Vijaya Chandra (Jayachand), Raja of Gádhinagara (Canyacubja). It is not impossible the same inscription may be noticed in your *résumé* of Canoj history. You will find in our Transactions a good deal concerning Prithivi, Rája of Dilli, from the pen of Major Tod, which I hope had not been anticipated in the Researches.

"The Oriental public has sustained a great loss in Capt. Fell. There was not a better Sanscrit scholar, and I fear the College at Benares may miss him much.

"I shall be curious to see Mr. Bentley's posthumous work. He seems latterly to have been disposed to allow a greater age to Hindu astronomy than he before conceded, and, if I am not mistaken, approximated to my positions concerning it; but his book, I suppose, does not confess so much.

"I hope to hear more favourable accounts of your health than the last letter which I have from you, dated almost a year ago, intimates. I should much regret that you were obliged to quit India, though it should be to visit England, for such a cause as recovery of health. I have not been unmindful of the subject of your inquiry. Hertford College does not present any opening, nor the probable prospect of one suitable for you. The situation which would be suitable is, no doubt, that at the India House, whenever it is vacant. But there is no likelihood of its being vacated otherwise than by casualty. In the event of an accident, I know no person who would have a better chance for the succession than yourself. You have friends here who will doubtless attend to your interests in such a case.

"Yours very truly,

"H. COLEBROOKE."

"*22nd June*, 1826.

"Your letters some time back had led me to apprehend that the interval will be long before a sixteenth volume of Researches arrives; and, in consequence, I have encouraged in the Royal Asiatic Society an inclination to promote a coalition with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and eventually with the literary societies of Madras and Bombay.

"We think that the literary researches and learned contributions of the societies abroad, aided by those at home, would furnish a good annual volume, and the pecuniary contributions of the members of those societies, as now resident members of the Society at home, would defray the extra expense of supplying more copies of more matter. An active correspondence between the committees of the societies abroad and at home would greatly promote well-directed researches.

"I would recommend that Mr. Moorcroft's papers should be sent home, with a suggestion for their being entrusted to me for publication in the most advisable manner, on the ground of my having been the editor of the account of his previous journey. I well know how much the pruning knife is required. Until we have seen his MSS., there is no judging whether it will be best to make a separate publication, or insert it in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. I am disposed to make an offer of my services, knowing how likely these curious and valuable materials are to be neglected at the India House, if they come home in the crude and unprepared state they are sure to have been left in.

"You will find, in the third fasciculus, which completes the first volume of Asiatic Transactions, a further essay on Hindu philosophy, in which I have given an account of the *Púrva Mímánsá*. I am yet undetermined whether I shall pursue the subject to the *Uttara Mímánsá*, for which materials superabound, and to the heterodox systems (*Chárváca, Páśupata,* etc.), for which materials are scanty, and thereafter a *résumé*

of the whole, contrasting the Indian with the Greek philosophy. I rather think I shall decline the latter task, but I am not sure.

"I rejoice to learn that instruction proceeds successfully; and that you make progress with the examination of the Purάnas. I expect much very curious matter to come from those researches.

"Were I a younger man, I would tender myself to assist in completing the great etymological dictionary of Sanscrit. It was originally my plan, and I relaxed in it from disappointment: the people employed by me needing more looking after than I could give, and the task being greater than I could singly execute, having so little leisure then at command. If you come home soon with the materials provided upon the plan you are promising, I will most cheerfully give my aid, and contribute my collections towards it.

"Yours very truly,

"H. Colebrooke."

"24th *December*, 1827.

"Dear Sir,

"I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 20th June. A previous letter (5th May) was acknowledged on its receipt. The parcel which you advised, and which contained a fragment of the Amera-Cósha, or rather of its commentaries tabulated, and a communication on Observations for the Longitude, has unluckily got into the Post Office, and I cannot get it out without paying considerably for postage. The demand was more than £11. I am still struggling against the exaction, and have not got it *sufficiently* reduced. Can you prevail on Captain Grant to furnish a duplicate? If so, pray get it and forward it, for possibly I may be disappointed in my contest with the Post Office, and I will not give way, because they have irritated me by disregarding remonstrances.

"My bad health continues to prevent my taking an active part in the business of the Royal Asiatic Society this season. I can rarely stir out of the house, and I cannot prosecute

study, or use the pen much. Some of the members are very active in promoting a plan for publishing the texts and translations of select Oriental works. The scheme, being well patronized, is getting on better than I should have expected; but people care so little about the matter that I apprehend a serious falling off in a short time. I inclose a prospectus, to show you what the plan is. I do not propose to turn the attention of the Translation Committee to Sanscrit until we know more of the success of the translators who are at work under your superintendence. You do not advert to the subject in your late letters. I shall be glad to hear from you what further progress has been made.

"I rejoice to learn that your great work on the Indian drama may be so soon expected by us. I anticipate much gratification from the perusal. Careless and indifferent as our countrymen are, I think, nevertheless, you and I may derive some complacent feelings from the reflection that, following the footsteps of Sir W. Jones, we have, with so little aid of collaborators, and so little encouragement, opened nearly every avenue, and left it to foreigners, who are taking up the clue we have furnished, to complete the outline of what we have sketched. It is some gratification to natural pride that the opportunity which the English have enjoyed has not been wholly unemployed.

"I fear my task is nearly done. I do not despair of rather better health than I have lately had, and of lasting out some little while yet; but I cannot expect to be efficient for much labour or difficult research.

"That we may soon look for another volume of Asiatic Researches is very good news. It will probably prove interesting. 'Tis a great pity that the last was printed on so much smaller paper than the former volume. The unequal dimensions of volumes sadly disfigures the set.

"I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, in the name of the Society at Calcutta, two or three of the volumes which

were wanting to complete a set; the greatest number had been presented by a member, and two or three only were wanting. I hope the Society will approve and accept the Royal Asiatic Society's thanks on the occasion. I beg also their sanction to a few volumes (three or four) to complete my own set, by replacing some that were worm-eaten in India and cut a bad figure by the side of their more fortunate uneaten associates.

"Having been the abridger of Moorcroft's former narrative, I am familiar with his manner, and could more easily select what is worth publishing than anybody else. I hope therefore the government abroad will either consign his papers to me, or send them open, when the East India Company (I mean the Court of Directors) would most likely do so.

"Yours sincerely,

"H. Colebrooke."

Reference is made in one of the preceding letters to one of his well-known essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus. The first of the series appeared in June, 1823, shortly after the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society; and the remaining papers appeared in successive years, until his failing health obliged him to relinquish the task.

I shall not venture to describe in any detail a work so well known, not merely to the Oriental scholar, but to the student of the history of philosophical speculation. Mr. Colebrooke had, it has been seen, directed his attention to this branch of Indian literature at the commencement of his Sanscrit studies. His Vedic and also his legal reading had contributed to make him somewhat familiar with the same subjects. When, therefore, he proceeded to give the results of his researches to the world, they were derived, in no small degree, from stores long accumulated. Little was known regarding the logical or metaphysical treatises of the Hindus before these essays appeared. The most interesting contribution to our knowledge of what Indian mysticism was capable, is to be found in the translation

of the Bhagavad Gítá by Wilkins. In this singular episode of the great epic poem, the Mahábhárata, the hero, Arjuna, pauses, before the commencement of a great battle, to hold a celestial colloquy with the god Krishna, who is acting as Arjuna's charioteer, and discourses at length on the metaphysical topics which have so deeply interested the Indian mind—the soul, its destiny, hopes of immortality, relation to God, and power of arriving at ultimate absorption in God. The mysterious science which it enforces has been regarded as an exposition of the doctrine of the Yóga, the essence of which consists in devotional exercises and mental abstraction with a view to absorption. This discourse, however, was the exposition of one phase only of Indian doctrine. Sir William Jones on several occasions described the varied character of the different schools, and, as might be expected, pointed out their resemblance to some of the speculations of ancient Greece. But he candidly admits, in the last of the discourses, which he addressed to the Society, on the Philosophy of the Asiatics,[1] that he had only leisure to peruse one of the collections of Sútras or Aphorisms, that relating to the Védánta, and that he was indebted to the most celebrated of its commentators, Śancara, for the information which he possessed regarding the other ancient schools. The brief account of those systems was, however, well calculated to excite curiosity.

It is needless to say that Mr. Colebrooke's treatment of the subject was elaborate and exhaustive. Though compressing within the space of a few detached essays a succinct summary of the views of all the leading schools, and, from the brevity with which they are described, necessarily dry and technical, these essays form, even now, the most valuable compendium of a body of literature of immense extent.[2] Evidence remains of the careful analysis to which he subjected these

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 169.

[2] In the list of MSS. presented to the East India Company, there are 149 belonging to the Védánta philosophy alone.

writings before he submitted his summary to the Asiatic Society. A manuscript volume, bearing the water-mark of 1823, is devoted to an analysis of many of the subjects with which the Mímánsá deals. Though not a system of philosophy, in the usual acceptation of the term, it treats, with a method and appearance of science, of the practical rules for the religious observances sanctioned by the Védas and traditional usages, and must have taken its rise when the authority of the former was called in question, and when it became the duty of the orthodox to discriminate between degrees of authority, eliminate what was spurious, and reconcile contradictions. The subjects treated lead to logical speculations and discussions on the nature and sources of our knowledge, mingled with much casuistry and minute discrimination regarding the portions of the different observances which were imperative and those which were not essential.

Mr. Colebrooke's preparation for the interpretation of this system is curious and characteristic. The volume in my possession is entitled "Glossary of the Védas and Terminology of the Sciences," and commences with a vocabulary of the most important terms employed, with their renderings. From this the manuscript branches into a variety of topics, of which the essay treats, many of the details being more minute than would interest the reader. The rules for several of the most important sacrifices are given very fully, preceded by some explanation as to the persons fit to perform them. On the *Aśwamédha*, or horse sacrifice, only passingly alluded to in the essay, he goes through the list of the numerous animals, both wild and domesticated, which were offered on such occasions. They evidently interested him, as bearing on the natural history of India, and gave rise to some conjectures as to the domestication of some of the animals in ancient India. Of the six hundred and nine animals required for the sacrifice, a very large proportion consist of goats; but even with regard to them, there is a diversity of number, age, size, or colour, according to the deity to which they

are severally offered. With regard to the remaining animals, great ingenuity is exercised in ransacking the creation, and in selecting animals appropriate to each god, season, or element. The animals range from elephants and buffaloes to birds, porpoises, crocodiles, snakes, and even mosquitoes and worms. The parrot, as might be supposed, is offered to Vách, or Speech, a great serpent (Boa) to Bala, or Strength, and a black cuckoo to Cáma,. the Indian Cupid.

I subjoin Mr. Colebrooke's note to the list.

"The camel is twice named among wild animals. Was he, then, wild in the deserts of India (between India and Khorassan, etc.)? The Indian name *Ushtra* is clearly the same as the Persian *Shutur*, likewise written and pronounced Ushtur. Another Sanscrit term for the same animal, *Craméla*, is the original of the Greek καμηλος. It is remarkable that the Greeks received a name for the ânimal, which is now obsolete in the intermediate countries.

"The Gavaya or Gazel is named both among tame animals and several times among the wild. He was then both domesticated and wild, as now.

"Wild sheep, as well as wild goats, are mentioned. Was there a wild *ovis*? or is some species of chamois, *Rupicapra*, etc., meant?"

Another list of sacrificial offerings which is given in this volume would be of deeper interest, could we believe that such holocausts of human victims were ever offered in the Vedic age. The *Purushamédha* is a human sacrifice prescribed in the 30th and 31st chapters of the white Yajur-véda, and is briefly referred to in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay on the Védas, as typical of the allegorical immolation of Nárâyańa. It is inferred from other allusions to this horrid practice in Indian literature, that such sacrifices were part of the superstition of the country;[1] but it is incredible that it could ever have existed

[1] See Professor H. Wilson's Paper on the subject in the 13th volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Weber, too, has an essay on the subject. Indische Streifen, vol. i. pp. 54, 68.

in the grotesque form which is prescribed in the rules of the Yajur-véda, of which Mr. Colebrooke gives the details. The sacrifice is there said to be "celebrated by a Bráhmana or Cshatriya desirous of pre-eminence above all beings." It requires forty days for its completion, and more than a hundred victims, enumerated according to their castes (including the mixed classes), trades, and professions, country of birth, colour and size, and morality, the unchaste being sacrificed to Cáma and Prajápati.

The manuscript volume in which these particulars are given enters also into details regarding the *Agnihótra* and other sacrifices, and gives some account of the implements and materials employed, besides a few translations of the hymns employed on such occasions, and especially of the *Purusha-súcta*, containing a correction of the version which he had given of this hymn in the essay on the Védas. Altogether the labour bestowed in his examination of this branch of literature may be taken as illustrative of the care with which he executed his task in the other philosophical essays.

I have stated that the essays were not completed according to the original intention of their author. This cannot be said so far as regards the review which he took of the different systems of philosophy. But Mr. Colebrooke aimed at more. Points of resemblance between the Greek and Indian philosophy are noticed here and there, as they occur; and at the conclusion of the last essay of the series, they are more pointedly referred to, and a promise is held out to pursue the subject in a future essay, in which he hopes to show that a greater degree of similarity exists between the Indian doctrine and that of the earlier than of the later Greeks. The opinions of Pythagoras are here more especially referred to. The line of argument by which he was led to infer that they were derived from Indian sources is an ingenious one, and calculated to arrest attention. For, "as," he contends, "it is scarcely probable that the communication should have taken place,

and the knowledge been imparted, at the precise interval of time which intervened between the earlier and later schools of Greek philosophy, and especially between the Pythagoreans and Platonists, I should be disposed to conclude that the Indians were, in this instance, teachers rather than learners."

The question here mooted was abruptly closed, and it is much to be regretted that he was unable to execute this task; for the opinion which he offered on the supposed Indian origin of the Greek philosophy has led to his views being controverted, and has, in some measure, detracted from the authority with which his views were generally received. Some of the works on which he placed reliance for his representation of the views of Pythagoras and other Greek writers are of questionable authority; and Ritter, in his review of this portion of the history of philosophy, points out how unsafe were Mr. Colebrooke's guides in examining a question of great difficulty. Had he prosecuted his task, he would doubtless have amassed the materials for an accurate comparison between the recorded views of the Eastern and Western world; and it may be safely presumed that his conclusions would have been as little marked by theory or dogmatism as his other writings.

In venturing an opinion in favour of the common origin of the early Greek and Indian schools of thought, and in assuming that the Hindu was the teacher, and not the learner, based as it was on the assumption that the points of resemblance were too striking to have been accidental, Mr. Colebrooke, no doubt, represented a very prevailing opinion in his time, and it derived some colour from the Greek tradition of the eastern journey of Pythagoras. The name of one of the most important of the Indian systems,—the Sánchya, or numeral,—seemed to some minds to favour the idea that the philosopher in whose system the properties of numbers hold so important a place, might have borrowed from the Eastern sages; and there was nothing extravagant in the supposition, for the Greeks were the most inquiring as well as inventive

race that the world ever saw. If either system was borrowed from the other, the probability is, that the Greeks sought for knowledge in India, as elsewhere.

Putting aside these conjectures, which have no better foundation than the tradition of Alexandrian writers, such as Porphyry and Iamblichus, who wrote in the fourth century of our era, when Greek literature was tinged with Eastern and mystical views, it cannot be denied that there are points of resemblance between the schools of thought that prevailed in the East and West, which could not fail to arrest attention and point to something more than an accidental connexion. Apart from the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which plays so important a part in Indian theology, and which is also intimately connected with Pythagorean traditions, some of their theories of physics, and especially the atomic theory, the doctrine of the eternity of matter, not to mention their logical systems, correspond with the Grecian teaching so nearly as to raise a strong suspicion of some interchange of opinion; and this is increased by a closer comparison between some of their psychological speculations, which Mr. Colebrooke points out at the close of his essays.

Mr. Colebrooke's opinions were received with approval by many of his contemporaries, and, among others, by the late Professor H. H. Wilson and Mr. Elphinstone. The latter, indeed, in his History of India, enforces them by additional and cogent arguments. After pointing out various particulars in which the speculations of the Hindus agree with those which have been entertained by the Greeks, and, in some instances, by modern metaphysicians, he justly remarks that such coincidences might be the result of independent inquiry, and that they would not in themselves justify us in supposing that the Eastern and Western systems had a common origin. But it is different, he contends, when we find a whole system so similar to that of the Hindu as the Pythagorean, and so unlike the natural suggestions of human reason.

Notwithstanding the weight that attaches to such opinions, it cannot be denied that the tendency of later criticism is adverse to such conclusions; and the further scrutiny to which the Hindu systems have been subjected brings out in stronger relief the great contrasts between them and Grecian schools of thought. Some of the points of seeming coincidence do not bear the test of close examination. The distinction between the *Θυμὸς* and *Φρὴν* of the Pythagoreans, on which much stress has been placed, was nothing more than the difference between man's sensual and intellectual nature; the one raising him above the animal creation, the other the seat of desires and passions, and sinking him to the level of brutes. Such was the view of Cicero regarding the doctrine of Pythagoras;[1] and this, I understand, is the view presented by Brücker, to which reference is made by Mr. Colebrooke.[2] Another view of the Pythagorean doctrine is given by Diogenes Laertius, and represents a triple division, *Φρὴν* and *νοῦς*, whose seat is in the brain, and *θυμὸς* in the heart.[3] Here, again, the distinction is maintained between the higher and coarser nature of man, and which must occur to thinkers in different parts of the world; but offering only a faint analogy to the peculiar tenets of the Indian Schools, which regard the soul as something independent, both of the intellectual and of the sensitive organs with which it is connected in life.

A more striking point of resemblance is to be found in the metempsychosis; not but that the idea of the soul's passage,

[1] "In his explicandis veterem illam equidem Pythagoræ primum, deinde Platonis descriptionem sequar; qui animum in duas partes dividunt; alteram rationis participem faciunt, alteram expertem. In participe rationis ponunt tranquillitatem, id est, placidam, quietamque constantiam; in illa altera motus turbidos, tum iræ, tum cupiditatis, contrarios inimicosque rationi."—Tusc. Quæst. iv. 5.

[2] Misc. Essays, i. p. 418. The passage is as follows:—"Duplex homini anima est, una superior, ex divinâ mundi animâ exorta, quæ pœnæ causâ corpori immissa, divinam tenet originem. Altera sensitiva est, ex principiis elementorum, mediante amore et contentione conflata."

[3] These distinctions belong to popular language without implying anything recondite. When Achilles meditates slaying Agamemnon in the assembly, both mind and passions are at work.

Ἕως ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν.

after death, into other bodies was held by the Greeks before the time of Pythagoras. The same idea appears in the speculations of other nations, as among the ancient Egyptians,[1] and even among the Peruvians. It is the rudest conception of immortality, derived from the analogy of the decay and reproduction of material things, and may be regarded as a refined extension of the notion of metamorphism which forms a popular belief in many rude and especially Eastern nations. Pythagoras did not invent the doctrine, but he raised it to something of a philosophical system, by confining the transmigration to animal life, and assuming that the soul was adapted to the body with which it was clothed, and connecting the change with cycles under a physical necessity.[2] It is in this particular that his doctrine resembles that of India, when it is connected with ideas of retribution and cycles of change. But the metempsychosis played only a subordinate part in the Pythagorean system. His discipline, which is supposed to bear some resemblance to the practices of India, was essentially Greek, the training of men, whether by gymnastics, or music, or by silence and diet, to play a part in the world, not, as in the Indian view, to prepare for eternity.

If the reader will pardon a digression from the proper functions of a biographer, I will venture a further remark on a subject which has attracted some attention, but as yet has been incompletely examined. A comparison between Greek and Indian philosophy brings out far more striking points of contrast than resemblance; and they are of a nature that heighten the improbability of these systems ever having had a common origin. How the doctrine of the metempsychosis acquired so

[1] Herodotus (ii. 123) informs us, that according to the doctrines of the Egyptians, the soul passes through a series of transmigrations before it returns to the state of man; and he adds that this opinion was entertained of old in Greece, alluding, so it is supposed, to the Orphic mysteries.
Τούτω τῶ λόγω ἐισὶ δι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, δι μὲν πρότερον, δι δὲ ὕστερον. ii. 123.

[2] *Πρῶτον δὲ φασὶ τοῦτον αποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κυκλον αναγκης αμειβουσαν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζώοις.*—Diogenes Laertius.

firm a hold on the Indian popular belief, is a problem on which their literature affords no certain indications. No trace of it is to be found in the hymns of the Rigvéda, nor of the doctrine of the renovation of worlds with which it is connected.[1] Even the Bráhmańas,[2] a body of literature of a much later date, full of legendary lore and minute directions for the ritual observances established in the Védas, throw no light on this interesting question. The interval which separated these two periods must have been one of intellectual stagnation, since it witnessed the growth of the system of castes, the establishment of the sanctity of the Védas, and of the influence of the Brahminical priesthood. It is in the last degree improbable that Indian thought advanced, during this period, beyond the somewhat vague conception of the spiritual nature of a Supreme Being which is to be found in some of the Vedic hymns, and is more fully developed in the Upanishads.

Whatever may have been the origin of the belief in the migration of the soul, as connected with a system of retribu-

[1] See Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to the third volume of the translation of the Rigveda, p. 13.—"There is scarcely any indication of doctrinal or philosophical speculation, no allusion to the later notions of the several schools, except those expressions above noticed suggestive of the identity of all gods and of all beings; nor is there any hint of the metempsychosis, or the doctrine which is intimately allied to it, of the repeated renovation of the world; on the contrary, there is one remarkable passage which denies this elsewhere unquestioned proposition. It is there emphatically affirmed that the heaven and the earth were generated but once, as was the milk of Prisni, or the nourishment of the winds, that is to say, the rain; and that nothing similar was successively produced." —p. 481, v. 22.

[2] This subject is very fully treated in a very interesting paper by Dr. Muir, on the doctrine of a future life, according to the Vedas (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i., new series). According to Professor Weber, whose views are quoted at some length in Dr. Muir's essay, in the Bráhmańas immortality, or at least longevity, is promised to those who rightly understand and practise the rites of sacrifice; but the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments does not extend beyond what may be gathered from some of the Vedic hymns, and is very far from being explicit as to their duration. A nearer approach to the teaching of later theologians is to be found in a passage from the Satapatha Bráhmańa, quoted in the same essay. It is said that "by knowledge men ascend to that condition in which desires have passed away. Thither gifts do not reach, nor austere devotees who are destitute of knowledge."

tion, it must have found great support in the interest of a priesthood whose influence it increased; for, as the ills of life became connected with the sins of a former existence, the importance of expiations and austerities which form a part of the Brahminical religion became greatly enhanced.[1] To this we must add the gloomy view of man's existence on earth, which lies at the root of the religious sentiment of the people, before we can form a conception of the hold which this doctrine acquired over the Indian mind. The return of the soul to earth, to inhabit new forms, might have been consistent with a cheerful view of life; but when the soul returned laden with the troubles of a former existence, and to encounter new trials, and when the best spent life afforded only a transitory reward, the result must have been favourable to the most gloomy superstition, and may account, in some measure, for the ascendency acquired by the Brahmins.

The belief in transmigration, accompanied by painful sense of the lot of man on earth, forms the basis of the metaphysical speculations of the Hindus. Even Buddhism forms no exception to this. All the Indian systems agree in seeking knowledge which shall enable its possessor to escape from this dreary destiny. The soul is in bondage; and bondage implies suffering; good works, no less than bad, lead to bondage, since they have their requital in the transmigration, and a return to its alliance with its earthly and intellectual nature. Hence, the imperfection of religious rites, since they afford only a temporary release from the ills of life. The great arcanum is knowledge, or a right perception of the soul's relation to the world or to God. In solving this problem, the systems diverge,

[1] See Manu, xi., 48–54,—"Some evil-minded persons for sins committed in this life, and some for bad actions in a preceding state, suffer a morbid change in their bodies." After detailing, with his usual minuteness, the particular defects which follow the commissions of specified sins, the lawgiver proceeds, "Penance, therefore, must invariably be performed for the sake of expiation; since they, who have not expiated their sins, will again spring to birth with disgraceful marks."

as might be supposed, into a great variety of speculations; but the tendency is the same, viz., to a sort of quietism, with more or less of mystical teaching. In discussing these questions, we are led through a series of physical and metaphysical speculations. The laws of thought and of reasoning, the sources of our knowledge, whether derived from the senses or from the external world, or by perception, all come under view, and are subjected to minute examination, the conclusion with some being in favour of the separate existence of the soul, and with others of its identity with the soul of the universe. The recognition of one or other of these doctrines is the first step to emancipation, the complete release being effected by meditation or abstraction. This doctrine of *mukti* or emancipation is reconciled with pantheism or atheism, with tenets bordering on materialism, or even with the denial of the existence of a material world; none of which affect the result, that "a happy state of imperturbable apathy is the ultimate bliss to which the Indian aspires."[1] Creeds the most opposed, as Brahminism and Buddhism, concur in some of the essential tenets, though, as might be supposed, the metaphysical views of the jarring sects afford materials for endless and bitter controversy.

The history of the rise of these different schools is involved in much obscurity. The literature of India affords us no certain clue, and we are left, in a great measure, to such conjectures as are based on the history of speculative reasoning in other nations. When the Greeks came into contact with the Indians in the time of Alexander, they seem to have been profoundly impressed by those features in the conduct and opinions of the eastern sophists or philosophers which differed most from their own. The austerities of the devotees, their contempt of life, and meditation on death, are described in terms which show that the Indian mind was at work in solving those problems which occupy the systems, though to what extent

[1] Misc. Essays, i. 401.

they were developed must be a matter of uncertainty. Philosophical views transmitted through interpreters, and handed down to us by later writers, cannot be relied upon very confidently; and some of the accounts which are given by Strabo have the appearance of being translated into the philosophical language of Greece.[1] From the strong affinity which the Sánchya doctrines bear to the metaphysical tenets of the sects of Jina and Buddha, Mr. Colebrooke was at one time inclined to believe that the latter were borrowed from the more orthodox speculations. Whichever had the priority of origin, it seems probable that they all took their rise at a period of Indian history which marked the reaction against the Brahminical system, and when their theological or philosophical systems diverged into the two schools of thought, the one discarding the authority and observances of the Védas and of the Brahmins; the other endeavouring to reconcile the old creed with the freedom of inquiry which began to prevail. Whatever be the epoch which is assigned to this great movement, it is impossible to conceive a school of

[1] Thus, in the often-quoted passage of Strabo describing the habitual discourse of the Indian sophists on death and the preparation for it, he adds that, according to their views, nothing which happens to man is bad or good, otherwise the same things would not be the cause of grief to some and of joy to others, and that opinions are like dreams, affecting persons in different ways on different occasions. It is pointed out by Casaubon, in a note to this passage, that these latter expressions form one of the dogmas of Pyrrho and of his sect. On turning to the account of the school by Diogenes Laertius, I find the following expressions. The coincidence is the more curious because Pyrrho is said by this author to have attached himself to Anaxarchus, who enjoyed the intimacy of Alexander, and must have visited the gymnosophists of India. "They contend that nothing is good or evil by nature; for, were anything good or evil by nature, it should be good or evil to all, as snow is cold to everybody: but there is no good or evil which is common to all beings; therefore nothing is good or evil by nature." Diog. Laer. ix. 101. Again, Onesicritus, who visited the sophists at the desire of Alexander, describes their discourse as turning on the virtue of temperance, and the propriety of such training of the body as should strengthen the mind, and enable the philosopher to give good counsel both in public and private life. The best philosophy, in their view, was that which liberated the mind from pleasure and grief. This practical philosophy may have been taught in India at this time; but it has a greater affinity to what we are accustomed to associate with the later Stoics, than to the philosophical systems of India.

thought so remote, in its aims and tendency, from that which acted on Greece, and which was so little calculated to influence the mind of Greece at the most active period of its literary history.

The proximate cause is not far to seek. Not only were the genius and characteristics of the two peoples widely different, but Greece had no Védas.[1] There was no stagnant period in its history, such as marked the institution of castes and the establishment of Brahminical ascendency. The philosophers of Greece were, for the most part, men who had no sympathy with the popular religion of their countrymen. They were citizens who took a part in the political struggles of the age in which they lived, and close observers of the stirring events which passed around them. There was a freedom of inquiry, which embraced every branch of human knowledge, from speculations on physics and on the creation of the world, to the discussion of the problem of man's existence, and all the metaphysical and moral problems that are therewith connected. In this vast range of inquiry we should expect to find much that is akin to the views of thinkers in remote nations; but its scope and tendency are so widely divergent that it is difficult to suppose that it could have received any tinge from that which prevailed in India.

In no respect is it more so than with regard to the most ancient school, the Ionian, of which Thales is regarded as the founder. They probably deserved the animadversion of Aristotle as confining their views to physical and material causes only as affecting the universe. But the source of our knowledge of these opinions is very meagre. Thales left nothing in writing; and what is known of him and his successors is derived from scanty notices by later writers, describing their teaching in

[1] See some just remarks on the subject in Cousin's Histoire de la Philosophie, "Il n'y a point eu de Védas en Grèce, et cette circonstance, trop peu remarquée, a été une des raisons des plus puissantes du rapide devéloppement de l'esprit de recherche indépendante." This is followed by a fanciful parallel between the Orphic mysteries and the teachings of the Mímánsá. He keeps out of view that the basis of the latter system is a body of literature which had no place in Greece.

terms too general to be of much service towards restoring their ancient doctrines. All that can be affirmed of them with confidence is, that they were devoted to geometry, astronomy, and to physical speculations, with a strong tendency to materialism, even when dealing with man's intellectual and moral being. It must be uncertain in what sense Thales taught that water was the principle of all things, or a later philosopher gave the same power to fire. All tradition agrees in describing this early school as engrossed less with cosmogonies than with attempts to explain the phenomena of the world by material causes in actual operation; and, in this sense, proceeding according to the spirit of modern physical philosophers, though not with the patient inductive methods which form the glory of modern science. There is ample evidence of the activity with which these aims were pursued; but neither in this nor in the subject-matter of their discussions was there much that is akin to Indian modes of thought in what we are taught to regard as the earliest form of philosophical teaching in the East.

It is at a later period of Grecian history, when pantheistic doctrines began to prevail, and inquiries were directed to man's spiritual nature and its relation to the universe around it, that the interest of the comparison commences; and here we have the advantage of possessing numerous fragments of the actual compositions of many of these thinkers, which enable us to speak with more or less confidence as to the tendency of their views; and it may be remarked that we have not merely the general conclusions at which they arrived, but the very line of argument by which they combated the low and unworthy views prevalent on the nature of the Deity. It is impossible, for example, to read the fragments of Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic school, without seeing that we have the original thoughts of a vigorous mind, and not borrowed from any foreign instructor. The tone of his writings, as of those of his successor Parmenides, is argumentative and controver-

sial. It is negative, in a certain sense, as it is mainly directed against the anthropomorphic views prevalent; and, in contending for the unity of God, the subject is discussed on general and abstract principles. The doctrines of this school, which are somewhat obscurely set forth in the fragments which have come down to us, may be regarded as pantheistic; but from some of the expressions we are justified in concluding that their conception regarding the Deity is of a being not merely possessing the attributes of power and intelligence, but ruling the world, and in this respect making a near approach to the highest spiritual conception of God. With this, however, there is a touching confession of the infirmity of human reason in attempting to grasp these subjects, that satisfies us that we are conversing with thinkers who represent the views of reflecting men in the age in which they lived.

I have entered thus far in these details, because the question of the probable connexion between the philosophy of the East and West depends not so much on accumulated instances of agreement in their speculative views, as on the general scope of their teaching, and the signs of originality exhibited in their remains. But here it may be remarked, that our interest in the comparison would be greatly enhanced, were we to regard the Indian and Grecian schools as distinct, with different history and traditions, and with widely different influence on the lot of man. This, indeed, can hardly be exaggerated, when we compare, on the one hand, the influence of Greece on Rome and modern Europe, and that of India on all the nations which profess Buddhism, or in whose religious system the monastic spirit has been largely developed. The social condition of the Grecian States led them, at an early stage of their history, to the discussion of questions of Ethics, the absence of which forms so remarkable a characteristic of the Indian philosophy. In the full maturity of Grecian civilization, philosophy was said to have descended from heaven, and employed itself in solving the problem of man's mission on earth,

and his duties to his fellow-men. But no one supposes that, at this period of the career of Greece, she was indebted to so uncongenial a stock as the Indian schools. It is scarcely necessary to add that at a later epoch of Grecian history, when philosophic views were more largely mixed with religious teaching, eastern views began to prevail, and are supposed to have had great influence on the schools of Alexandria, and, through them, on the Christian world.

In this point of view, a comparison between the early speculations of the two races acquires a new interest, and it must be a matter of great regret that the critical survey of the question which was promised by Mr. Colebrooke was never completed.

The casual notices in his essays of the points in which these schools of thought agree refer, as might be supposed from the preceding remarks, to the period which intervened between the early Ionian and the Socratic teaching, to the doctrine of Pythagoras, of the Eleatic school, and of vigorous and independent thinkers, such as Heraclitus and Empedocles, who belong to the same epoch. It would be presumptuous to attempt to follow up a subject, the satisfactory treatment of which demands literary acquirements that are rarely combined—an extensive knowledge of the literature of both India and Greece. An apology is indeed due to the reader for so long a digression, which I have entered upon only because it seemed to me that the scope of Mr. Colebrooke's remarks has been somewhat misunderstood.

Before passing from this subject, I would briefly refer to another point, which has an indirect bearing upon the question I have here discussed, and to which it seems to me that undue importance has been attached, namely, a casual conjecture which was thrown out by Mr. Colebrooke in his essay on the Védas. In defending the authenticity of the Vedic writings, towards the close of the essay, he makes the following remark: "The text of the Sanc'hya philosophy,

from which the sect of Budd'ha seems to have borrowed its doctrines, is not the work of Capila himself, though vulgarly ascribed to him." This parenthetical remark as to the origin of some of the doctrines of Buddha has been frequently referred to, both by those who concur with this opinion and by those who are opposed to it,[1] as committing Mr. Colebrooke on a question of no less interest than difficulty. It must be obvious that, if the question of priority be decided in favour of the teaching of Śákya, and if the philosophical systems took their rise after that epoch, which cannot be carried further back than the age of Pythagoras, it would serve to decide any question as to the supposed connexion between the philosophy of the East and West. The Hindus might, in that case, be the disciples, but they could not have been the instructors of the Greeks. As to the resemblance between the theological teaching of Śákya and the metaphysics of the Sankhya system, there is no question. It has been frequently pointed out that some of the essential tenets of the former are analogous, not merely to the doctrines of Capila, but to those of the principal philosophical systems of India; so much so that it was contended by Mr. Gogerly, —and the opinion is quoted with approval by the late Professor Wilson, in his Essay on Buddhism,—that this religious system was no more than an eclectic doctrine, gathered up from the

[1] Thus Ritter, referring to the opinion that "Buddhism had its origin in the Sánkhya philosophy," adds, in a note, "Of this opinion is Colebrooke, and many others on his authority," and he makes special reference to the conjecture which Mr. Colebrooke threw out in his Essay on the Védas. Cousin, in a note to a late edition of his Histoire de la Philosophie, refers with exultation to the light which the researches of Hodgson and Burnouf have thrown on the history of Buddhism, as supporting his own view that Buddhism was borrowed from the Sánkhya, and in which opinion he professes to follow that of Mr. Colebrooke. "En effet, grâce au savant ouvrage de M. Burnouf, on peut affirmer aujourd'hui que Colebrooke avait raison dans le jugement qu'il a porté de la nouvelle doctrine, que les Brahmanes n'avaient point calomnié les Bouddhistes, et que la philosophie qui regne maintenant dans une si grande partie de l'Indo-chine n'est qu'un rameau dégéneré du Sankhya." St. Hilaire again is not content to claim Mr. Colebrooke, but all Indianists, in support of the same views, "William Jones, Colebrooke, Burnouf, M. Wilson, et, je pourrais ajouter, tous les indianistes n'hésitent pas à reconnaître dans le Bouddhisme, devenu plus tard une religion, un développement et une copie du Sânkhya de Kapila."—Des Védas, p. 147.

current opinions of the day. This may be so; but no one has pointed out more clearly than Mr. Colebrooke the difficulty of accepting this theory, or indeed propounding any confident opinion, in the then state of our knowledge, as to the history of the rise of the philosophical systems. He evidently leaned to the opinion that the sútras or aphorisms on which they are based, or at least some of them, were of great antiquity, (Essays, i. p. 262). But his Essays abound with admissions of the difficulty of attempting to assign a date or epoch to the composition either of the sútras or of some of the more ancient commentators.[1] The first obstacle to the solution of the question lies in the very form in which they have come down to us. It would appear to have been the aim of these old writers to discourage all teaching, except at the foot of a master. Without a commentator, they are said by Mr. Colebrooke to be utterly unintelligible (Essays, p. 297). They receive their interpretation from commentators of comparatively modern time. To add to our difficulty, doubts are raised by these late writers how far words and expressions represent the *ipsissima verba* of the original, or, in fact, how much is sútra and how much gloss (p. 262). Finally, the controversial tone which pervades them shows that they belong to an age of scholastic discussion inconsistent with the idea that they are the fruit of original or vigorous thought. When, therefore,

[1] See particularly the reference to Capila at p. 229. The whole passage shows that Mr. Colebrooke regarded him as a mythological person. With regard to the sútras which bear his name, when he approaches the question of their antiquity at p. 235, he confines himself to the vindication of their authenticity, by referring to the quotations from them which abound in the treatises of other schools. In the Essay on the Buddhists and other heretical schools, it is pointed out, at p. 380, that the Sánkhya of Capila notices the sect of Buddha, as well as other sectaries; thus clearly indicating that in the form in which it has come down to us, it is post-Buddhistic. With regard to the Védánta sútras, Mr. Colebrooke's reliance for their exposition is on S'ankara, who flourished, so he supposes, in the eighth or ninth century A.D. "How much the earlier the older scholia were, or the text itself," he adds, "there is no evidence to determine" (p. 332). So also with regard to the Mímánsá, the aphorisms are interpreted according to the exposition of a great doctor, the immediate predecessor of S'ankara. The age of the antecedent commentators is undetermined (p. 298).

Mr. Colebrooke has occasion, in the course of these essays, to refer to the resemblance between the doctrines of Capila and Śákya, we are prepared to find him expressing himself in very guarded terms. The first allusion will be found at p. 228, where he simply points out the affinity between them. In an essay of a still later date, he is equally cautious, and observes that the sects of Jaina and Buddha, like some other Indian heretical sects, "bear some analogy to the Sánchyas." (Essays, i. p. 378.)

A more complete admission of the uncertainty as to the order of priority in which these schools took their rise, is given in a letter to M. Pauthier, which is inserted in the preface to that gentleman's translation of these Essays. The letter, which is an interesting one, was written in 1832, in reply to some inquiries addressed to Mr. Colebrooke by M. Pauthier. I give the passage from the French translation, not having the original to refer to. "Je suis très-flatté de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait en traduisant mes Essais sur la philosophie des Hindous, et de la manière avec lequelle vous en parlez. Vous ferez très-bien en transposant l'Essai sur le *Védánta* et celui sur les sectes héterodoxes. L'ordre dans lequel ils ont paru dans les *Transactions* de la Société Asiatique était accidental, l'ordre chronologique est trop incertain pour essayer d'y avoir recours."

Opinions like these are consistent with the prevailing tone of Mr. Colebrooke's writings, and contrast with the sanguine and enthusiastic tone of many, both of his predecessors and successors. Much light has since then been thrown on the subject, especially as regards the rise of Buddhism; but much yet remains to be done to clear up this chapter in the religious history of India. On the one hand, it is contended that the rise of philosophy may be traced to the ancient Brahminical literature, which is assumed to contain the germ of such doctrines as the Védánta or the Sánkhya, and which are supposed to date from a period long antecedent to the rise of Buddhism.

The opposing view cannot be put more forcibly than it has been done by Ritter, whose work appeared so far back as 1836. He there throws out for consideration, whether Buddhism did not, in fact, give the first impulse to vigorous thought in India, and mark the epoch which divided the ancient religious literature from the new scholastic philosophy. In support of this view, we have, in the first place, the inherent improbability that a religious system should have grown out of a school of thought like that of the Sánkhya. Ritter contended, with much force, that the rise of a religion like that of Buddha, which denies the authority of the Védas, must have compelled the votaries of the old faith to appeal to reason, and support their doctrines by arguments drawn from metaphysical and abstract speculation, which we find compounded in such strange mixture with the religious teaching and ceremonial. If this theory were established, it would afford a clue to much that seems so strange in these singular monuments. But, at that time, and even now, it can only be advanced as an hypothesis. The solution of this problem will depend, in a great measure, on the view that is taken of the later Vedic literature, especially the Upanishads, a series of didactic essays, containing a mixture of ritualistic and theosophic speculation, which have been aptly described as guesses at truth, and do indeed constitute the armoury from which controversial writers of a later age drew their weapons. Whether, indeed, they afford signs of the opening of independent thought, or whether, on the other hand, they do not, like the Bráhmańas, belong to a state of society in a low stage of mental vigour, and only to be stirred up by some foreign influence, or the growth of a new religion, is a moot question, which it would be out of place to discuss here, and which no casual opinion of Mr. Colebrooke can be regarded as foreclosing.

Mr. Colebrooke's literary life may be said to have closed with this monument of his erudition. The last of these essays was presented to the Asiatic Society in 1827; the essay on

Hindu Courts of Justice appeared in the following year; and he, at this time, undertook a translation of the Sánchya Cáricá. The translation was executed, but it never received its last corrections from the author, and it was published after his death by the late Professor H. H. Wilson, who, in the preface to the work, mentions that it was one of the earliest announced for translation by the Oriental Translation Fund Committee. It would appear, from Professor Wilson's remarks, that it was Mr. Colebrooke's intention to add some explanations and illustrations, which are indispensable for the proper understanding of the text. In the same spirit Professor Wilson added the translation of the Bháshya, or Commentary of Gaudapáda, the oldest expounder of the original text, and enriched it further with a continuous commentary of his own.

At the time Mr. Colebrooke undertook this last task his health was much undermined. His mind was harassed by the state of his property, which was unfortunately embarked in numerous investments, many of which proved as precarious as the purchase of land at the Cape of Good Hope. The acuteness of his intellect in those matters proved his bane. He was easily attracted by inventions, whose scientific value he rated highly, and he would sometimes apply his talents to the exposition of their nature and importance. Of this an instance is before me, in a paper on the use of naphtha or petroleum, evidently written for the public. He details his own experiments in the laboratory, and points out the advantage to be anticipated from its use. He was also a great advocate for the use of oil gas, and joined a company to promote its adoption by the public. His loss was small on this occasion; for the rivalry of coal gas, then recently introduced into our streets, proved too formidable for the new company to struggle against. His losses were more serious in a mining speculation, to which he was attracted by a plausible programme, in which it was proposed to cover the risks

and uncertainties which belong to mining in general, by engaging in it on so large a scale that the different adventures would mutually insure each other. This grand experiment was never fairly tested, for the embryo company sank in its first efforts, and Mr. Colebrooke's losses were serious. On this and several other occasions his inexperience in such matters made him the dupe of designing persons; his time was occupied by attention to his affairs, which harassed his mind, and at one time threatened him with a total loss of fortune.

Now, too, he had to undergo several trials in a series of family losses that occurred at intervals of a few years from each other. It has been mentioned that one of his nieces died during his absence at the Cape. The eldest was carried off three years later, in the year following her marriage. Mr. Colebrooke was deeply attached to them, and felt their loss most acutely. In 1827, he was again bowed down by the death of one of his sons, a young man of brilliant talents, and the object, to his father, of the highest hope and pride.[1]

These successive trials and cares, acting on an enfeebled frame, brought on a dangerous attack of illness, during which his life was despaired of. He partially recovered his health, but became a confirmed invalid. His eyesight, too, failed from the effect of cataract, which, within the space of about two years from this illness, brought on total blindness. Still his mind remained as active as ever; though he had to rely on others for that intellectual food which had become to him

[1] I cannot forbear inserting a testimony to his worth from the pen of a fellow-student at the University of Bonn, where my brother studied for two years. The late F. H. H. Windischmann, a diligent student of both Sanscrit and old Persian antiquities, in the preface to his "Sancara, sive de Theologomenis Vedanticorum," refers in the following terms to my brother's death: "Quantopere aureæ Colebrookii, viri summi, de Indorum philosophiâ dissertationes, et præcipue ea, quam de doctrinis Vedanticorum scripsit, mihi profuerint, dijudicare poterunt omnes, qui eum semel ducem secuti sunt. Eo libentius autem virum illum admirabilem magistrum veneror, quo dulcior mihi Johannis Colebrookii, filii ejus desideratissimi memoria, quem præmaturâ morte patri, litteris, amicis ereptum lugent omnes, qui norant juvenem optimæ indolis."

almost a necessary of life: his demands on them were prolonged for a considerable portion of each day. It is needless to say that he pursued no systematic course of study or reading, from which he was quite debarred by the enfeebled state of his health. He had now to undergo severer trials. In the autumn of 1833, his sufferings assumed a new character, and at first with an alarming increase of severity. Pains declared themselves in the region of the back, which, however much they may have varied from day to day, were unintermitting up to the hour of his death. The nature of the complaint he now suffered from rendered him almost entirely helpless. He quitted his bed only to be supported to a couch; and latterly the debility increased so that he could not sit up at all. The last three years of his life were passed entirely on his back, and never free from pain. Yet, in this prolonged suffering, and it was occasionally most acute, he scarcely ever uttered a complaint, and never alluded to his situation, except when asking for assistance to have his posture changed.

In this melancholy state, his family circle narrowed by the loss of so many that were most dear to him, he had to encounter a blow in the loss of his eldest son, the severity of which can only be appreciated by those who knew, not merely the hopes that were entertained regarding the career that was just opening to him, but the singular ascendency that he had acquired over his father's mind, as indeed he did over many of his friends even superior in age to himself. The writer of these pages well remembers how constantly (even long before his brother had completed his education) his father deferred to his judgment on questions of literary interest or political importance; and this respect for his opinion increased in proportion to the growth of his son's mind to maturity. The loss already adverted to, of a son perhaps only inferior in abilities to the one now removed, on account of the earlier age at which he died, made their father centre his hopes more closely on him that remained. He died at the early age of twenty-four.

He had no opportunity of acquiring academical distinction; for, though he passed through the usual course of Cambridge study, he was debarred, by the delicacy of his health, from reading for honours. The testimony of his contemporaries to his high promise was not however the less striking; some instances will be found below.[1] The illness was short, and the blow to his father sudden, and, for a time, almost overwhelming. The wish was often expressed that he might be removed from these trials, and rejoin the son whom he had lost. "He was my master," he said on one occasion, referring to the weight

[1] The following lines are by Lord Houghton, and appeared in a volume of poems containing tributes "In memoriam" to several of his friends.

"GEORGE VERNON COLEBROOKE.

"Thou too art gone, and yet I hardly know
Why thou didst care to go;
Thou wert so well at heart, so spirit clear,
So heavenly calm, though here;
But thus it is; and, it would seem, no more
Can we, who on the shore
Of the loud world still walk, escape the din,
And lie awhile within
The quiet sunlight of thy filmless mind,
And rise refreshed, refined;
Yet am I mild and tempered in my grief,
Having a sure relief;
For these dear hours on life's dull length were spent,
By rarest accident,
And *now* I have thee by me when I will,
Hear thy wise words, and fill
My soul with thy calm looks, *now* I can tame
Ill thoughts by thy mere name.
Death the Divorcer, has united us
With bands impervious
To any tooth of Time, for they are wove
Of the same texture as an angel's love."

February 23rd, 1835.

Dr. Jeremie, now Dean of Lincoln, in a commemoration sermon preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, in December, 1834, in a very touching allusion to some of the recent losses which the College had sustained, pointed to the tablets on the chapel walls, "which recalled the memory of friendships too soon divided, and of genius extinguished in its prime." In a note to the published sermon, he thus refers to my brother's death:—"I allude more especially to the recent deaths of Frederick Malkin and T. Kynaston Selwyn, two young

he attached to his son's opinion on religious questions; for the influence of his son was not the less striking on religion than on literature or politics; and it was exercised chiefly in recommending works for his father's perusal. When the writer of this memoir returned from India, which was not until near a year after his brother's loss, he found his father calm and resigned. His temper, which, under the first attacks of illness, had a disposition towards fretfulness, now, under the severity of suffering, became inexpressibly sweet. Indeed, the fortitude and resignation with which he bore these accumulated trials increased as he approached his end.

After another year of patient waiting, the scene was closed. In January, 1837, he was attacked by a severe influenza, which, acting upon an enfeebled and attenuated frame, gradually wore it out. After lingering for a few weeks in a state of extreme weakness, and, latterly, of almost unconsciousness, he sank on the 10th of March, in his 72nd year.

It is not the intention of the writer of this memoir to add any estimate of Mr. Colebrooke's powers, or remarks on his character. The endeavour has been to give all details connected with the different undertakings in which he engaged which should illustrate the spirit that animated him through-

and highly-gifted members of our College, to whose memory tablets have been placed in our chapel. I would fain add to these one of kindred character and abilities, my deeply deplored friend Thomas Smith; and since writing the above, I must lament another, whom I had hoped to see in the list of those who have reflected honour upon our seats, no less by the purity of their lives than the extent and excellence of their intellectual attainments—G. Vernon Colebrooke."

"O flos juvenum
Spes læta patris!
. . . . .
Non mansuris
Ornate bonis;
Omnia præcox
Fortuna tibi
Dedit et rapuit,
Solstitialis
Velut herba solet,
Ostentatus
Raptusque simul."

out; and he thinks he will have very imperfectly executed his task, if it does not appear that his father's success, in so many fields of industry, was owing as much to the singular energy and force of his character, as to his intellectual endowments. The latter were, indeed, of a very rare character; and his memory was singularly retentive. The severe tasks he underwent were borne easily by a mind braced and trained by long exercise, but not supported by vigour of body; for, though he inherited a strong constitution, he was small and spare in person. It remains only to subjoin a list of his works, which is the most durable monument of his industry and powers.

Mr. Colebrooke, at the time of his death, was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh; a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and of the Literary Society of Bombay; Fellow of the Astronomical, Geological, Linnæan, and Zoological Societies; Foreign Member of the Royal Academy of Paris, Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, and of the Royal Academy of Munich.

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I. On the Duties of a Faithful Hindú Widow. (Vol. iv. p. 209–219.) 1795.
II. Enumeration of Indian Classes. (Vol. v. p. 53–67.) 1798.
III. On Indian Weights and Measures. (Vol. v. p. 91–109.) 1798.
IV. On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús, and of the Bráhmans especially. Essay I. (Vol. v. p. 345–368.) 1798.
V. Translation of one of the Inscriptions on the Pillar at Delhí, called the Lát of Fírúz Sháh. (Vol. vii. p. 179–182.) 1801.
VI. On the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages. (Vol. vii. p. 199–231.) 1801.
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VIII. On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús, and of the Bráhmans especially. Essay III. (Vol. vii. p. 288–311.) 1801.
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X. On the Védas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindús. (Vol. viii. p. 369–476.) 1805.
XI. Description of a species of Ox named Gayál. (Vol. viii. p. 487–501.) 1805.
XII. Observations on the Sect of Jains. (Vol. ix. pp. 287–322.) 1807.
XIII. On the Indian and Arabian Divisions of the Zodiac. (Vol. ix. pp. 323–376.) 1807.
XIV. On Olibanum, or Frankincense. (Vol. ix. pp. 377–382.) 1807.
XV. On Ancient Monuments containing Hindú Inscriptions. (Vol. ix. pp. 398–445.) 1807.
XVI. On Sanscrit and Pracrit Poetry. (Vol. x. pp. 387–474.) 1808.
XVII. On the Sources of the Ganges in the Himádri, or Emodus. (Vol. xi. pp. 429–445.) 1810.
XVIII. On the Notions of Hindú Astronomers concerning the Precession of the Equinoxes and Motions of the Planets. (Vol. xii. pp. 209–250). 1816.
XIX. On the Heights of the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. xii. pp. 251–285). 1816.
XX. On the Dryobalanops Camphora, or Camphor Tree of Sumatra. (Vol. xii. pp. 535–541.) 1816.

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III. On the Philosophy of the Hindús. Part II. On the Nyáya and Vaiséshica Systems. (Vol. i. pp. 92–118.) Read June 21, 1824.
IV. Explanation of Inscriptions upon Rocks in South Bihár. (Vol. i. pp. 201–206.) Read Dec. 4, 1824.

V. Translation of three Grants of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayaní. (Vol. i. pp. 230–239, and 462–466.) Read Dec. 4, 1824.
VI. Remarks on the Valley of Setlej River, from the Journal of Captain A. Gerard. (Vol. i. pp. 343–380.) Read Dec. 3, 1825.
VII. On the Philosophy of the Hindús. Part III. On the Mímánsá. (Vol. i. pp. 439–466.) Read March 4, 1826.
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XI. On Hindú Courts of Justice. (Vol. ii. pp. 166–196.) Read May 24, 1828.

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I. On the Height of the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. vi. pp. 51–65.) 1819.
II. Description of two Micrometers, designed and used as Pyrometers. (Vol. vi. pp. 230–236.) 1819.
III. An Hypothesis to account for the Variable Depth of the Ocean. (Vol. vi. pp. 236–242.) 1819.
IV. On the Limit of constant Congelation on the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. vii. pp. 38–43.) 1819.
V. On Useful Projects. (Vol. vii. pp. 48–55.)
VI. On Fluidity, and an Hypothesis concerning the Structure of the Earth (Vol. ix. pp. 52–61.) 1820.
VII. Account of the Method of preparing a black Resinous Varnish, used at Silhet in Bengal. (Vol. x. pp. 315, 316.) 1821.
VIII. On the Height of the Dhawalagiri, or White Mountain of Himalaya. (Vol. xi. pp. 240–247.) 1821.
IX. Meteorological Observations in a Voyage across the Atlantic. (Vol. xiv. pp. 115–141.) 1823.
X. On the Climate of South Africa. (Vol. xiv. pp. 241–254.) 1823.

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I. Description of select Indian Plants. (Vol. xii. pp. 351–361.) Read April 15, 1817.
II. On Indian Species of Menispernum. (Vol. xiii. pp. 44–68.) Read Nov. 2, 1819.
III. On Boswellia, and certain Indian Terebinthaceæ. (Vol. xv. pp. 355–370.) Read April 4 and 18, 1826.

Published in the Transactions of the Geological Society.

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II. On the Geology of the North-eastern Border of Bengal. (Vol. i. second series, pp. 132–137.) Read Jan. 5, 1821.

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APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

I. A DISCOURSE READ AT A MEETING OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, ON THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1823.

II. ADDRESSES OF HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, ESQ., F.R.S., PRESIDENT OF THE ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, ON PRESENTING THE HONORARY MEDALS OF THE SOCIETY TO THE SEVERAL PERSONS TO WHOM THEY HAD BEEN AWARDED.

III. A NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY FROM MIRZAPUR TO NAGPUR.

APPENDIX.

I.

A Discourse read at a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 15th of March, 1823.

[From the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i., pp. xvii.—xxiii.]

Called by the indulgence of this meeting to a chair, which I could have wished to have seen more worthily filled, upon so interesting an occasion as the first general meeting of a Society instituted for the important purpose of *the advancement of knowledge in relation to Asia*, I shall, with your permission, detain you a little from the special business of the day, while I draw your more particular attention to the objects of the institution for the furtherance of which we are now assembled.

To those countries of Asia, in which civilization may be justly considered to have had its origin, or to have attained its earliest growth, the rest of the civilized world owes a large debt of gratitude, which it cannot but be solicitous to repay; and England, as most advanced in refinement, is, for that very cause, the most beholden; and, by acquisition of dominion in the East, is bound by a yet closer tie. As Englishmen, we participate in the earnest wish that this duty may be fulfilled, and that obligation requited; and we share in the anxious desire of contributing to such a happy result, by promoting an interchange of benefits, and returning in an improved state that which was received in a ruder form.

But improvement, to be efficient, must be adapted to the

actual condition of things: and hence a necessity for exact information of all that is there known which belongs to science; and all that is there practised which appertains to arts.

Be it then our part to investigate the sciences of Asia, and inquire into the arts of the East, with the hope of facilitating ameliorations of which they may be found susceptible.

In progress of such researches, it is not perhaps too much to expect, that something may yet be gleaned for the advancement of knowledge, and improvement of arts, at home. In many recent instances, inventive faculties have been tasked to devise anew what might have been as readily copied from an Oriental type; or unacknowledged imitation has reproduced in Europe, with an air of novelty, what had been for ages familiar to the East. Nor is that source to be considered as already exhausted. In beauty of fabric, in simplicity of process, there possibly yet remains something to be learnt from China, from Japan, from India, which the refinement of Europe need not disdain.

The characteristic of the arts in Asia is simplicity. With rude implements, and by coarse means, arduous tasks have been achieved, and the most finished results have been obtained; which, for a long period, were scarcely equalled, and have, but recently, been surpassed, by polished artifice and refined skill in Europe. Were it a question of mere curiosity, it might yet be worth the inquiry, what were the rude means by which such things have been accomplished? The question, however, is not a merely idle one. It may be investigated with confidence that a useful answer will be derived. If it do not point to the way of perfecting European skill, it assuredly will to that of augmenting Asiatic attainments.

The course of inquiry into the arts, as into the sciences of Asia, cannot fail of leading to much which is curious and instructive. The inquiry extends over regions the most anciently and the most numerously peopled on the globe. The range of research is as wide as those regions are vast;

and as various as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their ancient and modern history; their civil polity; their long-enduring institutions; their manners and their customs; their languages, and their literature; their sciences, speculative and practical: in short, the progress of knowledge among them; the pitch which it has attained; and last, but most important, the means of its extension.

In speaking of the history of Asiatic nations (and it is in Asia that recorded and authentic history of mankind commences), I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements; but rather to less conspicuous yet more important occurrences, which directly concern the structure of society, the civil institutions of nations, their internal, more than their external relations, and the yet less prominent, but more momentous events, which affect society universally, and advance it in the scale of civilized life.

It is the history of the human mind which is most diligently to be investigated: the discoveries of the wise, the inventions of the ingenious, and the contrivances of the skilful.

Nothing which has much engaged the thoughts of man is foreign to our inquiry, within the local limits which we have prescribed to it. We do not exclude from our research the political transactions of Asiatic states, nor the lucubrations of Asiatic philosophers. The first are necessarily connected, in no small degree, with the history of the progress of society; the latter have great influence on the literary, the speculative, and the practical avocations of men.

Nor is the ascertainment of any fact to be considered destitute of use. The aberrations of the human mind are a part of its history. It is neither uninteresting nor useless to ascertain what it is that ingenious men have done, and contemplative minds have thought, in former times, even where they have erred: especially, where their error has been graced by elegance, or redeemed by tasteful fancy.

Mythology then, however futile, must, for those reasons, be noticed. It influences the manners, it pervades the literature of nations which have admitted it.

Philosophy of ancient times must be studied, though it be the edifice of large inference raised on the scanty ground of assumed premises. Such as it is, most assiduously has it been cultivated by Oriental nations, from the further India to Asiatic Greece. The more it is investigated, the more intimate will the relation be found between the philosophy of Greece and that of India. Whichever is the type or the copy, whichever has borrowed or has lent, certain it is, that the one will serve to elucidate the other. The philosophy of India may be employed for a commentary on that of Greece; and, conversely, Grecian philosophy will help to explain Indian. That of Arabia, too, avowedly copied from the Grecian model, has preserved much which else might have been lost. A part has been restored through the medium of translation, and more may yet be retrieved from Arabic stores.

The ancient language of India, the polished Sanscrit, not unallied to Greek and various other languages of Europe, may yet contribute something to their elucidation, and, still more, to the not unimportant subject of general grammar.

Though Attic taste be wanting in the literary performances of Asia, they are not on that sole ground to be utterly neglected. Much that is interesting may yet be elicited from Arabic and Sanscrit lore, from Arabian and Indian antiquities.

Connected as those highly polished and refined languages are with other tongues, they deserve to be studied for the sake of the particular dialects and idioms to which they bear relation; for their own sake, that is, for the literature which appertains to them; and for the analysis of language in general, which has been unsuccessfully attempted on too narrow ground, but may be prosecuted, with effect, upon wider induction.

The same is to be said of Chinese literature and language. This field of research, which is now open to us, may be culti-

vated with confident reliance on a successful result; making us better acquainted with a singular people, whose manners, institutions, opinions, arts, and productions, differ most widely from those of the West; and through them, perhaps, with other tribes of Tartaric race, still more singular, and still less known.

Wide as is the geographical extent of the region to which primarily our attention is directed, and from which our association has taken its designation, the range of our research is not confined to those geographical limits. Western Asia has, in all times, maintained intimate relation with contiguous, and, not unfrequently, with distant countries: and that connexion will justify, and often render necessary, excursive disquisition beyond its bounds. We may lay claim to many Grecian topics, as bearing relation to Asiatic Greece; to numerous topics of yet higher interest, connected with Syria, with Chaldæa, with Palestine.

Arabian literature will conduct us still further. Wherever it has followed the footsteps of Moslem conquest, inquiry will pursue its trace. Attending the Arabs in Egypt, the Moors in Africa; accompanying these into Spain, and cultivated there with assiduity, it must be investigated without exclusion of countries into which it made its way.

Neither are our researches limited to the old continent, nor to the history and pursuits of ancient times. Modern enterprise has added to the known world a second Asiatic continent, which British colonies have annexed to the British domain. The situation of Australasia connects it with the Indian Archipelago: its occupation by English colonies brings it into relation with British India. Of that new country, where everything is strange, much is yet to be learnt. Its singular physical geography, its peculiar productions, the phenomena of its climate, present numerous subjects of inquiry; and various difficulties are to be overcome, in solution of the problem of adapting the arts of Europe to the novel situation

of that distant territory. The ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN will contribute its aid towards the accomplishment of those important objects.

Remote as are the regions to which our attention is turned, no country enjoys greater advantages than Great Britain for conducting inquiries respecting them. Possessing a great Asiatic empire, its influence extends far beyond its direct and local authority. Both within its territorial limits and without them, the public functionaries have occasion for acquiring varied information, and correct knowledge of the people and of the country. Political transactions, operations of war, relations of commerce, the pursuits of business, the enterprise of curiosity, the desire of scientific acquirements, carry British subjects to the most distant and the most secluded spots. Their duties, their professions, lead them abroad; and they avail themselves of opportunity, thus afforded, for acquisition of accurate acquaintance with matters presented to their notice. One requisite is there wanting, as long since remarked by the venerable founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—it is leisure: but that is enjoyed on their return to their native country. Here may be arranged the treasured knowledge which they bring with them; the written or the remembered information which they have gathered. Here are preserved in public and private repositories manuscript books collected in the East, exempt from the prompt decay which would there have overtaken them. Here, too, are preserved, in the archives of families, the manuscript observations of individuals, whose diffidence has prevented them from giving to the public the fruits of their labours in a detached form.

An Association established in Great Britain, with views analogous to those for which the parent Society of Bengal was instituted, and which happily are adopted by Societies which have arisen at other British stations in Asia, at Bombay, at Madras, at Bencoolen, will furnish inducement to those who, during their sojourn abroad, have contributed their efforts for

the promotion of knowledge, to continue their exertions after their return. It will serve to assemble scattered materials, which are now liable to be lost to the public for want of a vehicle of publication. It will lead to a more diligent examination of the treasures of Oriental literature, preserved in public and private libraries. In cordial co-operation with the existing societies in India, it will assist their labours, and will be assisted by them. It will tend to an object, first in importance,—the increase of knowledge in Asia by diffusion of European science. And whence can this be so effectually done as from Great Britain?

For such purposes we are associated; and to such ends our efforts are directed. To further these objects, we are now assembled; and the measures which will be proposed to you, Gentlemen, are designed for the commencement of a course, which, I confidently trust, may, in its progress, be eminently successful, and largely contribute to the augmented enjoyments of the innumerable people subject to British sway abroad; and (with humility and deference be it spoken, yet not without aspiration after public usefulness), conspicuously tend to British prosperity as connected with Asia.

II.

Addresses of Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., F.R.S., President of the Astronomical Society of London, on Presenting the Honorary Medals of the Society to the several Persons to whom they had been Awarded.

On presenting the Gold Medal to Charles Babbage, Esq., F.R.S.

This country and the present age have been pre-eminently distinguished for ingenuity in the contrivance or in the improvement of machinery. In none has that been more singularly evinced than in the instance to which I have the gratification of now calling the attention of the Society. The invention is as novel as the ingenuity manifested by it is extraordinary. In other cases mechanical devices have substituted machines for simpler tools or for bodily labour. The artist has been furnished with command of power beyond human strength, joined with precision surpassing any ordinary attainment of dexterity. He is enabled to perform singly the work of a multitude, with the accuracy of a select few, by mechanism which takes the place of manual labour or assists its efforts.

But the invention to which I am adverting comes in place of mental exertion: it substitutes mechanical performance for an intellectual process: and that performance is effected with celerity and exactness unattainable in ordinary methods, even by incessant practice and undiverted attention. The invention is in scope, as in execution, unlike anything before accomplished to assist operose computations. I pass by, as what is obviously quite different, the "Shwanpan," or "Chinese abacus," the tangible arithmetic of Frend, Napier's rods, with the ruder devices of antiquity, the tallies, the cheque, and the coun-

ters. They are unconnected with it in purpose as in form. Mechanical aid of calculation has in truth been before proposed by very eminent persons. Pascal invented a very complicated instrument for the simplest arithmetical processes, addition and subtraction, and reaching by very tedious repetition to multiplication and division. Leibnitz proposed another, of which the power extends no further. Delepine's and Boitissendeau's contrivances, which a century ago were applauded by the Academy of Sciences at Paris, are upon the model of Pascal's, and may no doubt be improvements of it, but do not vary or enlarge its objects. Moreland's instruments, described in an early volume of the Philosophical Transactions (the 8th), are confined, the one to addition and subtraction, the other to multiplication. The *Rotula Arithmetica* of Brown, simpler in construction, reaches not beyond the four arithmetical operations.

The principle which essentially distinguishes Mr. Babbage's invention from all these is, that it proposes to calculate a series of numbers following any law by the aid of *differences*; and that, by setting a few figures at the outset, a long series of numbers is readily produced by a mechanical operation. The method of *differences*, in a very wide sense, is the mathematical principle of the contrivance. A machine to add a number of arbitrary figures together is no economy of time or trouble; since each individual figure must be placed in the machine. But it is otherwise when those figures follow some law. The insertion of a few at first determines the magnitude of the next; and these of the succeeding. It is this constant repetition of similar operations which renders the computation of tables a fit subject for the application of machinery. Mr. Babbage's invention puts an engine in the place of the computer. The question is set to the instrument; or the instrument is set to the question, and, by simply giving it motion, the solution is wrought and a string of answers is exhibited.

Nor is this all; for the machine may be rendered capable of

recording its answer, and even multiplying copies of it. The usefulness of the instrument is thus more than doubled: for it not only saves time and trouble in transcribing results into tabular form, and setting types for the printing of the table constructed with them, but it likewise accomplishes the yet more important object of insuring accuracy, obviating numerous sources of error through the careless hands of transcribers and compositors.

On this part of the invention, which is yet a subject of experiment for selection of the most eligible among divers modes of accomplishing it, I shall not dwell longer; as it is not for that superaddition, but for the machine in the finished form of a calculating instrument, that I am to make an acknowledgment, in the name of this Society, to Mr. Babbage for his very useful invention.

I speak of it as complete with reference to a model which satisfactorily exhibited the machine's performance, and am apprized that a more finished engine, which is in progress of preparation, may not yet for some time be in a forward state to be put in activity and receive its practical application.

In no department of science or of the arts does this discovery promise to be so eminently useful as in that of astronomy and its kindred sciences, with the various arts dependent on them. In none are computations more operose than those which astronomy in particular requires: in none are preparatory facilities more needful, in none is error more detrimental. The practical astronomer is interrupted in his pursuit, is diverted from his task of observation, by the irksome labour of computation; or his diligence in observing becomes ineffectual for want of yet greater industry of calculation. Let the aid, which tables previously computed afford, be furnished to the utmost extent which mechanism has made attainable through Mr. Babbage's invention, the most irksome portion of the astronomer's task is alleviated, and a fresh impulse is given to astronomical research.

Nor is it among the least curious results of the ingenious device, of which I am speaking, that it affords a new opening for discovery; since it is applicable, as has been shown by its inventor, to surmount novel difficulties of analysis.

Not confined to *constant differences*, it is available in every case of differences that follow a definite law, reducible therefore to an equation. An engine, adjusted to the purpose, being set to work, will produce any distant term, or succession of terms required: thus presenting the numerical solution of a problem, even though the analytical solution of it be yet undetermined.

It may not therefore be deemed too sanguine an anticipation when I express the hope that an instrument, which in its simpler form attains to the extraction of the roots of numbers and approximates to the roots of equations, may in a more advanced state of improvement rise to the approximate solution of algebraic equations of elevated degrees. I refer to solutions of such equations proposed by La Grange, and more recently by other analysts, which involve operations too tedious and intricate for use, and which must remain without efficacy, unless some mode be devised of abridging the labour or facilitating the means of its performance.

In any case this engine tends to lighten the excessive and accumulating burden of arithmetical application of mathematical formulæ, and to relieve the progress of science from what is justly termed by the author of this invention the overwhelming incumbrance of numerical detail.

For this singular and pregnant discovery, I have the authority of the Astronomical Society of London to present to Mr. Babbage its Gold Medal, which accordingly I now do, as a token of the high estimation in which it holds his invention of an engine for calculating mathematical and astronomical tables.

On presenting the Gold Medal to Professor Encke, and the Silver Medal to Dr. P. K. Rumker.

The greatest step which has been made in the astronomy of comets since the verification of Halley's comet, which reappeared in 1759, has been the identifying of Encke's comet, at once determined by the evidence of its frequent appearance within short periods, and already confirmed by its re-discovery in a distant hemisphere.

It is scarcely to be doubted that other, many other, like bodies, moving through very eccentric orbits in short periods, belong to our solar system. Though Lexell's comet has not been again observed since 1770, it is not therefore to be despaired of. More extended, more diffused diligence may yet detect it, if, in truth, it has not ceased to be capable of becoming luminous.

Nor is it an over-sanguine expectation which counts upon more discoveries of the like nature. It is not *likely* that Encke's should be solitary of its kind; the only one revolving in a short period; or the only visible one.

The Astronomical Society is desirous of drawing the attention of observers, in an especial manner, to this department of research; with the confidence, that increased vigilance cannot fail of being rewarded by abundant discovery; and I may here take leave to remark, that multiplied observations at very remote stations, determining a greater portion of a comet's orbit, will tend to the earlier and more precise ascertainment of its period. In this view, as in so many others, the establishment of Observatories at the Cape of Good Hope and Australasia, has been matter of congratulation with astronomers: and I have peculiar satisfaction in being authorized to acknowledge the service rendered to astronomical science by the re-discovery of Encke's comet in 1822, at the Observatory

at Paramatta; and to present to Dr. P. Karl Rumker, the Superintendent of that Observatory, the Society's Medal on this account, at the same time that I present, in the Society's name, its medal to Professor Encke, for the previous investigations relative to that comet, and which led to the re-discovery of it.

On presenting the Silver Medal to M. Pons.

No name has recurred more frequently in the history of comets than that of M. Pons; and from the very commencement of the present century he has been in almost exclusive possession of the first discovery of telescopic comets. At Marseilles, while joint director of the Observatory at that place, he discovered more than twenty comets; being the first to see the greatest number of them, a very few only having been likewise and independently noticed as early by other observers. His vigilance did not remit, nor has his diligence been unrewarded at Marlia, where he was invited to superintend a new observatory. Previous to his departure from Marseilles he had made the memorable re-discovery of the comet which bears Encke's name, and his arrival at Marlia was signalized by the detection of another comet. In a recent period he has been yet more successful, having discovered no less than three comets in the year 1822, with his usual privilege of priority in respect to two of them, under every disadvantage in regard to instruments, joined with other discouraging circumstances, which, it may be feared, have since too much operated, and which the Society most earnestly desire to see removed.

The services which M. Pons has rendered to this branch of astronomical science have been acknowledged by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris adjudging to him a prize for the re-discovery of Encke's comet in 1818, and sharing between him and M. Nicollet a prize for the comet discovered in January, 1821. Had equal diligence been devoted to this

research by other observers at remote stations and in various climates, it is highly probable that a greater number of comets might have been detected in the last age; and it may be presumed that increased vigilance in time to come will be recompensed with enlarged knowledge of comets, and with corresponding advancement in this branch of science.

The Council of the Astronomical Society, desirous of marking their sense of the services rendered by M. Pons, both in acknowledgment to him for his usefulness and with the hope that his example may be followed by others, have resolved to present to him the Silver Medal of the Society; which accordingly I now do, in their name and in that of the Astronomical Society, as a token of the sense entertained of his indefatigable assiduity in that department of astronomy, and especially for the discovery of a comet on 31st May, and another on 1st July, 1822.

III.

A Narrative of a Journey from Mirzapur to Nagpur.

Towards the close of the year 1798, I received the commands of the Governor-general of India, the Earl of Mornington, (now Marquis Wellesley) to proceed to the court of Nagpur, on a public mission. With His Excellency's permission, a route was chosen which had been lately opened by the inland traders between Benares and Berar. The route through Catac, Sambhalpur, and Chetesgerh, and another by the way of Ramgerh and Serguja, were inconvenient, because preparations for the journey were already made at Mirzapur, my usual place of abode. The direct road from Mirzapur to Nagpur, through the territories of the Rajah of Rewa, is the shortest and most frequented of any between the banks of the Ganges and the capital of the Rajah of Berar's dominions. The computed distance little exceeds four hundred miles; and by this route alone cotton is imported from Nagpur to the British territories. But the Rajah of Rewa was at this time threatened by Ali Behadur; and the road was infested by banditti from Bundelcund,—a province which Ali Behadur had long since invaded, but not completely reduced. To avoid interruption, that might be well apprehended on a road which native travellers and merchants disused as insecure, it appeared expedient to take a circuitous route; and, instead of proceeding along the banks of the Ganges and Yamuná to Calpi, and thence to Sagur, it seemed advisable to traverse the forests that lie between Bejeygerh and Serguja, because this route presented the advantage of passing through no intermediate territories between the British dominions and the provinces tributary to the Rajah of Berar.

Having chosen this route, and completed the requisite preparations for marching through a desolate country by roads impracticable for wheel-carriages, I began the journey from Mirzapur on the 4th January, 1799, and ascended the Gortola pass on the following day. The road lay over the Bind'h hills, from the ascent of them, within sight of the Ganges, to Nagpur, which is situated among hills that in reality belong to the same cluster of mountains. It may not then be here improper to premise some general observations on the mountainous tract over which I travelled.

Bind'h, in Sanscrit named Vind'hya, constitutes the limit between Hindustan and the Deccan. The most ancient Hindu authors assign it as the southern boundary of the region, which they denominate Áryá bhúma or Áryáverta. Modern authors, in like manner, make this the line which discriminates the northern from the southern nations of India. It reaches almost from the eastern to the western sea; and the highest part of the range deviates little from the line of the tropic. The mountainous tract, however, which retains the appellation, spreads much more widely. It meets the Ganges in several places towards the north, and the Godaveri is held to be its southern limit.

Sanscrit etymologists deduce its name from a circumstance to which I have just now alluded. It is called Vind'hya,[1] says the author of a commentary on the Amera cósha, because people think (*d'hyayanti*) the progress of the sun is obstructed (*veindd'ha*) by it. Suitably to this notion, the most elevated ridge of this tropical range of mountains is found to run from a point that lies between Chota Nagpur and Palamu, to another that is situated in the vicinity of Ougein. But the course of the Nermada river better indicates the direction of the principal range of Bind'h hills. From Amar-

[1] Derived from *vi*, denoting opposition, and *d'hyai*, to think. This meaning of the name of Vind'hya, or tropical mountain, is confirmed by a verse in an epic poem on the death of S'is'upâla (6, 4, 2), where mount Raivate is described as emulating Vind'hya again to check the course of the sun.

cantac, where this river has its source, on the same spot with the Sone and the Hatsu, to the Gulf of Camboga, where it disembogues itself into the sea, the Channel of Nermada is confined by a range of hills, or by a tract of elevated ground, in which numerous rivers take their rise; and by their subsequent course towards the Sone and Yamuná on one side, and towards the Tapati and Godaveri on the other, sufficiently indicate the superior elevation of that tract through which the Nermada has forced its way.

I shall have subsequent occasion to mention the lofty ridge that connects Amarcantac with the spot to which the sources of the Damodar may be traced.

If it be true, as appearances strongly indicate, and as tradition partly confirms, that the sea once washed the foot of the Himalaya mountains, Hindustan was then submerged, and the Deccan must have been an island, the northern shore of which was the Vind'hya range.

The uniform flatness of the country, the shallowness of the soil, and its sandy basis, in the whole tract from Janeser, along the banks of the Saraswatí and Yamuná, to both seas, appear to warrant this conjecture, which is rendered still further probable by the sands and fens that lie between Sindhu and Gurjasa, and by the forests in which the numerous mouths of the Ganges meet the sea.

The legend of Bhagirat'ha, assigning a channel to the Ganges,[1] is evidently founded on a tradition, which supposes

[1] [A legend of the Rámáyańa. Bhagíratha, the descendant of Ságara, by his austerities brings down the sacred stream from heaven in order to perform the funeral obsequies of his relatives, who had been destroyed by Kapila's curse. The passage describing the descent of the river is well known by Milman's translation. Professor H. H. Wilson, in a note to his translation of the passage in the Vishnu Puráńa, which relates the legend (book iv. 4), points out that tradition places a Kapilásrama, or hermitage of Kapila, on the shores of the island at the mouth of the Ganges, which still bears the name of Saugar (Ságara). Other legends, it seems, place the abode of the ascetic at the foot of the Himalaya, where the Ganges descends to the plains. Professor Wilson thinks these traditions may be reconciled by supposing, as Mr. Colebrooke had done, that they referred to a period when the ocean washed the base of the Himalaya.—ED.]

Hindustan to have been once submerged; the legends concerning Parasu Ráma's extorting the shores of the Cocana and Malabar from the ocean[1] are, in like manner, evidences of a tradition that the sea has receded from the coast of Malabar; and there is direct evidence that it has retired from the eastern coast.

But whether the conjecture that has been just now hazarded be well or ill founded, the notions which it suggests are conformable with a just idea of the northern bounds of the Vind'hya hills. Their southern limit, as already observed, is the river Godaveri.

The vast extent of this mountainous tract, contrasted with the small elevation of these hills, viewed from the plains of Hindustan, has furnished grounds for a legend, to which the mythological writings of the Hindus often allude: Vind'hya having once prostrated himself before his spiritual guide, Agaslya,[2] still remains in that posture, by command of the holy personage. This humiliation is the punishment of his presumption, in emulating the lofty height of Himalaya and Meru. According to this legend, Vind'hya has one foot at Chunar; and hence the real name of that fortress is said to be Cherenadri.[3] His other foot is, I think, placed by the same legend in the vicinity of Gaya. The vulgar, very inconsistently, suppose the head of the prostrate mountain, near the temples of Vind'hya-vasini, four miles from Mirzapur.

If the goddess Bhawáni have, in the present age of the world, fixed her abode on Vind'hya-chula, as the priests of

[1] [Paras'uráma, after his destruction of the Kshattriya caste, makes over the whole earth to Kas'yapa. The latter, in turn, desires him to depart, as there was no dwelling for him in it, whereupon he repairs to the south, and compels, by his arrows, the ocean to retire. A translation of this legend, as told in the Mahábhárata, is inserted by Professor Wilson, in his translation of the Vishnu Purána (book iv. 7), where he subjoins some remarks on the antiquity of this legend. See also Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. pp. 447, 460.—ED.]

[2] Even the name of Agaslya is, by some etymologists, derived from terms which bear allusion to this legend.

[3] From Cherena, a foot; and Adri, a mountain.

those temples affirm, quoting Purāṅas to prove her predilection for this mountain, she has made choice of an inhospitable region. The vast tract of mountainous country, to which the name of Vind'hya appertains, is mostly covered with forest, or is inhabited by mountaineers, as well as the woods, which they have imperfectly cleared. In few places, within the skirts of the eastern portion of this mountainous region, have the Hindus, and still less the Muslems, intruded much on the possessions of these uncivilized tribes; or where they have done so, they have become almost as savage as the people among whom they have settled. A bad soil and the want of navigation are the chief discouragements to the progress of arts in the eastern portion of that vast tract to which the name of Vind'hya appertains.

From these general remarks, I proceed to more particular observations, made in the progress of my journey, and during my stay among the hills of Bind'h.

In sight of Mirzapur, at the distance of about five miles from it my fellow[1] travellers and myself ascended the Gortola or Gortotwa pass, and encamped about two miles from it, under a dismantled stone fort, near a small village. The pass is steep and difficult; and the road, on the brow of the hill, leads through a forest of leafy *Butea*:[2] indeed, the whole range of hills, near Chunar and Mirzapur, exhibits the same appearance. The ascent is everywhere steep, and the verge of the hill is either bare rock, or lies near the surface; quarries are easily worked, and they afford excellent sand-stone, which is carried to Benares, and more distant places. It is mostly quarried in the small hills, detached from the Vind'hya range, which are near to the river, and more accessible to carts.

On the table-land the soil is very poor, and, therefore, sparingly cultivated, for eight or ten miles from the brow of

[1] Capt. H. Lennon accompanied me in the command of the escort; and Mr. D. Turnbull, as surgeon of the residency.

[2] *Butea frondosa*, named Palás, or Dhac.

the hill. Proceeding from the village, where we encamped above the pass, we immediately struck into a forest, consisting chiefly of *Butea*, and of *Emblick Phyllanthus*.[1] We saw no signs of culture for eight miles, except near the depopulated village of Sunri. After traversing a cultivated country of equal breadth, and again passing a forest similar to the first, we reached Gherawel in three days. Thence the road lay through a cultivated country, by the way of Shahgenj and Adilgenj, to Roup, near the head of the Ecpowa pass.

In this tract we remarked much rice had been reaped; we saw fine crops of wheat on the ground, as well as linseed, chiches,[2] pigeon peas,[3] and tares:[4] we noticed many fields of sugar-cane; and, near the large towns, orchards of mango-trees; but the soil is in general poor; it requires frequent fallows; and, after all, it is said to yield but scanty crops in the best seasons.

On the edge of the forest, towards the cultivated country, peacocks and brown partridges abound; black antelopes range the open country; white-footed antelopes are found in the deepest woods; and tigers infest the skirts of the forest; we found, however, little encouragement to pursue game, during several halts it became necessary to make, for the purpose of giving time to the dealers in corn to collect supplies, before we crossed the Sone, to strike into a desolate forest on the southern banks.

We took advantage of the last halt made on this account, at the head of the Ecpowa pass, to visit the fort of Bejeygerh,[5]

[1] *Emblick Myrobalan*, in Hindí called Aunlá.

[2] *Chand*, *Cicer arietenum*.

[3] *Arher*, *Cytisus cajan*. [4] *Masúr*, *Ervum bispennum*.

[5] [Bejeygerh, or Bidgegur, as the name appears in maps, was the fortress to which the Raja of Benares retired with his family and treasures on his breach with Hastings in 1781. On the approach of Colonel Popham's force he fled, and the Ranee capitulated after some negotiation. The alleged breach of this capitulation, and the plunder of some members of the Raja's family by a portion of Popham's force, were brought prominently forward in the charges against Hastings.—ED.]

which is twelve miles distant from Roup.[1] This fortress, famous for the siege conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel, now Major-General Popham, is situated on the highest pinnacle of an extensive range of peaks, which rise considerably above the general level of the table-land; the rock on which the fortress stands is so steep, even on its most accessible side, where the contiguous hills approach nearest to the same elevation, that Bejeygerh seems almost impregnable, unless by famine, provided it be defended by a spirited garrison. On the northern and western sides, the precipice overhangs the plain; to the east, a valley disjoins Bejeygerh from the range of hills lying in that direction. On the southern side, contiguous hills, much inferior, however, to the level of the fort, permit the approach of besiegers within range of cannon; and furnish footing whence the fort might perhaps be escaladed, after damaging its defences. The place is fortified by a wall, built up from the edge of the precipice, with a narrow rampart, whence musketry or wall pieces might be discharged by persons in a sitting posture; there is no room for artillery, and it does not, indeed, appear to have been ever the intention of any possessor of this fortress to defend it by cannon. The wall runs along the extreme verge of the hill, inclosing the whole summit of it; hence it has been often necessary to begin the outer part of the wall forty or fifty feet below the parapet. This, while it gives a stupendous appearance to the edifice, does, in fact, considerably weaken it, and the wall is giving way in many places. Following all the windings of the hill, the fort has some irregular bastions; but, in general, although the parts of the wall do not well flank each other, yet, from the difficulty of access to it, the place can scarcely be taken by a regular siege.

Within the wall is a house built in the Indian style, and adapted for the abode of women; another building, formerly

[1] Bejeygerh, bearing S.E. by E. from Roup, seems distant eight or nine miles, horizontal distance; but the road between these places is circuitous.

allotted for stores and ammunition; the ruins of some temporary edifices; three ponds or cisterns cut in the rock; and a small house near the tomb of a Muslem saint, Zeinee Lâbden, who is said to have died there three or four centuries ago. Two of the cisterns are named after Rama and his brother Lacshman; as usual, there is also a Silacund. The fort has a good gateway on the western side, and a small wicket on the southern.

We breakfasted in an apartment over the gateway; and thence contemplated with pleasure the extensive landscape before us. Close to the foot of the hill, a very small rivulet winds among woods: the Khagher, a more considerable stream, passes at the distance of a mile or two. A bridge, consisting of eleven equal arches, has been built over it; and forms a contrast with the wildness of the woods contiguous to this rivulet. Towards the north, the country is cultivated. A lofty edifice at Casuma, six miles distant, and some well-built houses near other villages north of the fort, relieve the eye, when fatigued with viewing the barren peaks that bound the western horizon, or the hills covered with forest towards the south. The weather was not clear enough to afford a view of the distant fort of Agori, beyond the Sone, nor of the river itself, where it approaches nearest to Bejeygerh. In that direction, nothing but mountain and forest was visible, excepting a few spots where the mountaineers have cleared small fields for cultivation.

The prevalence of forest renders Bejeygerh a very unwholesome spot. The garrison, placed in it after it was captured by the British forces, was for this reason gradually reduced to a small party of Sepahis, under the command of a Hawaldar, or native serjeant. At length it was found necessary to withdraw this also, and the place is now guarded, for form sake, by a dozen matchlockmen, under the orders of an honorary Keladar, who resides on his own estate a few miles distant from the fort.

I have found no certain information of the ancient history of this fortress. It would no doubt be chosen, for its natural strength, as a stronghold, by the first Hindu, or mountaineers, that settled in the neighbouring plains. Its name does not evidently indicate the founder: Vijeya signifies victory, and is a title of Arjuna, the friend of Crishná, and also the name of a demigod, who is one of Śiva's attendants. The modern history of the place is connected with that of Agori, which we also visited, as will be forthwith mentioned.

At noon we returned from Bejeygerh to our encampment near Roup; and the next morning descended the Caimur hills, by the Ecpowa pass. Notwithstanding the change of name, we had not found an intervening valley, nor any other line of separation, to distinguish these from the hills we ascended at Gortola. In fact, the double range of mountains, which confines the narrow valley through which the Sone runs, is only a portion of the extensive Vind'hya, though one lofty ridge obtains the name of Caimur.

Two miles from Roup we came to the head of the pass. The descent was very steep and unsafe for about a hundred yards; the rest, for a mile and a half to the foot of the pass, was gradual, and sufficiently safe, except one very dangerous spot near half-way from the brow of the mountain. Here the road turns abruptly twice, on the brink of the precipice, and, being very narrow, is awfully dangerous; but the whole length of this perilous spot, not exceeding fifty yards, might at a very moderate expense be rendered securely passable by splitting a few rocks with gunpowder.

We recommended this expedient to the Rajah of Agori, who had met us on the frontier of his estate near Gherawel, and who still accompanied us. He was professedly anxious to encourage the new commerce opened between Mirzapur and the Deccan, by a route which traverses his estate. But the expedient proposed to him for making the Ecpowa pass less dangerous was deemed impracticable without the aid of an

engineer; because the stone-cutters near Chunar and Mirzapur, being accustomed to quarry with iron wedges, are unacquainted with the mode of splitting rocks with gunpowder. It appears, however, that this method is well known and much practised in the Deccan. An expedient as efficacious, in the opinion of Hindus at least, for obviating the dangers of a road which turns abruptly on the edge of a precipice, had been already adopted. A few stones on the brink of the precipice had been daubed with minium, and thus converted into an idol, representing Bhawáni of Ecpowaghát. A Brahmin stood there, ready to receive the oblations made to the goddess by votaries willing so to purchase a safe passage for themselves and their cattle.

Whether owing to the oblations which our Hindu attendants made there, or to our own good fortune, I will not undertake to determine, but the elephants, camels, horses, and oxen, all reached the foot of the pass in safety. We thence looked up with some awe to the brow of the mountain, whence rocks seemed almost to overhang the road, at the elevation of a quarter of a mile above it.[1]

The rock, so far as may be judged from the fragments near the road, and in the bed of the Khagher, which we twice crossed at the foot of the pass, is quartz. Large masses of milky quartz lay in the bed of the rivulet, and exhibited an appearance which was novel to us, and therefore interesting. The overhanging rocks on the brow of the mountain, and the perpendicular wall, which forms the precipice below them, are discoloured, and have almost the common appearance of the exterior surface of milky quartz, when it has been long exposed to the atmosphere.

The banks of the rivulet, and the sides of the road where

[1] By a measurement taken from the opposite bank of the Sone, with a good sextant, and with separate observations for two measured bases, one of fifty, the other of 400 yards, I found the height of a conspicuous peak called Mangeswar to be 480 yards above the bed of the river; and two miles distant from the place where the observations of its altitude were made.

it did not approach too near the precipice, are covered with thick woods. I did not then remark the different sorts of trees that composed them; but the forest, that occupies the greatest part of the valley in the midst of which the Sone runs, contains *Pterocarpus sisoo, sol,* etc., *Swietenia febrifuga Diospyros, Ebenus, Sterculia urens, Nanelia orientalis, Mimosa catechu, Butea frondosa, Nyctanthes, Arbor tristis, Bombax heptaphyllum, Bombax gossypenem, Ficus racemosa, Bignonia chelonoides, Phyllanthus emblica, Rychnas, Nux vomica,* with many other trees of various sizes, from the Indian figtree to the *Rhamnus jajuba.*

We encamped near a very small village, at the foot of the pass. The Rajah of Bejeygerh, who had accompanied us from the neighbourhood of Mirzapur, encamped with the Rajah of Agori, and the respective attendants, on the other side of the village. In the evening we were suddenly alarmed by a noise from their camp, that indicated loud and violent contention among hundreds of persons. We sent to inquire the cause, and were soon relieved from the apprehension of a quarrel having arisen among the attendants of these Rajput chiefs. The two rajahs are allied by frequent intermarriages between their families. It is the custom among Brahmins and Rajputs, belonging to the sect called Mádhyandina,[1] to exchange contumelious language, by way of sport, at the celebration of a wedding. This pastime was now renewed, as is often done at the entertainments of persons allied by affinity.

The contumelious language here alluded to consists chiefly in addressing to each other terms signifying relation by affinity. Such terms convey an insult, because they imply the boast of favours received from the female relations of the insulted party. It is almost needless to add that, in the homely language of the vulgar, the same reproach, by way of boast, or of menace, is expressed in gross and explicit phrases. But I must not

[1] Their religious ceremonies are conducted according to the rule prescribed by Mádhyandina school of the Yajurveda.

conceal that the atrocious practice of destroying female children, which prevails among some tribes of Rajputs, has its source in fastidious pride, which cannot brook appellations absurdly deemed contumelious.[1]

The next day, while the baggage proceeded to Canech, on the banks of the Sone, we made an excursion to visit the fort of Agori, at the distance of seven or eight miles from our last encampment. The guides conducted us by a pathway, which crosses the valley obliquely, that lies between the Sone and the hills. Leading from village to village, the path winds through intermediate woods, for it rarely meets cultivated spots, which are but thinly scattered in a valley overspread by forest. The fatigue of our excursion was rewarded by much pleasure, in viewing the picturesque situation of Agori. The citadel is a fortified house, on the summit of a small hill, that rises from

[1] [Sir John Shore, in a paper which appeared in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches, "On some extraordinary facts, customs, and practices of the Hindus," says that the difficulty of procuring suitable matches for their daughters is the motive assigned by the Rajputs themselves, in the neighbourhood of Benares, for their resort to this inhuman practice. It seems that the practice was not confined to persons of rank, but existed even among villagers of this caste. Efforts had been made by the Rajputs themselves to put an end to the practice; and a village was pointed out where the inhabitants had sworn among themselves to bring up their female children; but several old maids were said to exist there, affording unfortunate evidence of the difficulty of providing for them, owing mainly, it was said, to the expense which usually attended marriages among this people. Mr. Colebrooke, in a manuscript note to this part of the essay, mentions an interesting case which came under his knowledge in corroboration of Sir John Shore's view. "The custom is very prevalent throughout Hindustan, among various tribes of Rájaputras, besides those which are commonly denominated Rájacumára. The motive is truly assigned in this discourse. The mode of putting the female offspring to death seems to be optional. Perhaps the withholding of nourishment may be thought by them less atrocious, (as a more indirect method), than poison; which is sometimes employed, if my informant be correct. On the same authority, I have an interesting anecdote of a beautiful young girl who was spared by her mother, contrary to the injunctions of the father, then absent. On his return, the girl had reached her seventh year; he refrained from wreaking his vengeance upon his wife and daughter, but immediately departed again and fled his conntry. The Musulman noblemen lately offered a subscription of 30,000 or 40,000 rupees for a marriage portion, but no suitable match can be procured, one lacksha being demanded as a marriage portion, besides the expenses of the nuptials. This beautiful young woman was alive in the year 1795, aged thirteen or fourteen."—ED.]

the southern bank of the river. Walls built around it, on the declivity of the hill, constitute the fort. This contains a hall of audience, between the citadel and the gate, and communicates, by a double wall, with a large well at the foot of the hill. Within the gate stand the remains of an old building, which is said to have been once a lofty edifice. Chet Sinh pulled down the upper stories, and was proceeding to demolish this building with the rest of the fort, until an inscription was found which contained a solemn imprecation on the person who should destroy the place. Superstition compelled the Rajah of Benares not only to desist from his intention, but to repair the fort.

The place is only fortified against musketry; being commanded by a hill whence shot would plunge into the fort, it is not tenable against artillery. But that hill, covered with wood, adds to the picturesque beauties of the spot. A continued range of mountain, in no place very distant from the river, and the Sone itself flowing majestically between banks covered with forest, complete the beauty of the scenery. The *Nilotica mimosa*[1] and shrubby *Lythrum*[2] cover the hill, both within and without the walls of the fort. They were now in full bloom; and the contrast of colour, together with the fragrance of the Acacia, enhanced the pleasure received from viewing a romantic landscape.

By the route of Agori, we were told, Major Crauford brought the timely reinforcement which he led from Ramgerh to assist in quelling the rebellion of Chet Sinh. His seasonable arrival turned the flight of the rebel, who was already discomfited by the British forces. The expulsion of an oppressive prince and contumacious tributary was effected. And while Chet Sinh received the reward of his offences, the ancient Rajahs, whom he had driven from their possessions, were restored to their estates.

Agori, with the Perganah of Berher, now belongs to Rajah

[1] *Babúl, Mimosa nilotica.* [2] *Dhau; Lythrum fruticosum.*

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[3] From Cherena, a foot; and Adri, a mountain.

those temples affirm, quoting Puránas to prove her predilection for this mountain, she has made choice of an inhospitable region. The vast tract of mountainous country, to which the name of Vind'hya appertains, is mostly covered with forest, or is inhabited by mountaineers, as well as the woods, which they have imperfectly cleared. In few places, within the skirts of the eastern portion of this mountainous region, have the Hindus, and still less the Muslems, intruded much on the possessions of these uncivilized tribes; or where they have done so, they have become almost as savage as the people among whom they have settled. A bad soil and the want of navigation are the chief discouragements to the progress of arts in the eastern portion of that vast tract to which the name of Vind'hya appertains.

From these general remarks, I proceed to more particular observations, made in the progress of my journey, and during my stay among the hills of Bind'h.

In sight of Mirzapur, at the distance of about five miles from it my fellow[1] travellers and myself ascended the Gortola or Gortotwa pass, and encamped about two miles from it, under a dismantled stone fort, near a small village. The pass is steep and difficult; and the road, on the brow of the hill, leads through a forest of leafy *Butea*:[2] indeed, the whole range of hills, near Chunar and Mirzapur, exhibits the same appearance. The ascent is everywhere steep, and the verge of the hill is either bare rock, or lies near the surface; quarries are easily worked, and they afford excellent sand-stone, which is carried to Benares, and more distant places. It is mostly quarried in the small hills, detached from the Vind'hya range, which are near to the river, and more accessible to carts.

On the table-land the soil is very poor, and, therefore, sparingly cultivated, for eight or ten miles from the brow of

[1] Capt. H. Lennon accompanied me in the command of the escort; and Mr. D. Turnbull, as surgeon of the residency.

[2] *Butea frondosa*, named Palás, or Dhac.

ing low but steep hills that stand detached from the Caimur range, we reached our encampment at night, drenched by rain, which overtook us on the way. The weather cleared up for a few hours the following day, and we took advantage of that intermission of rain to cross the Sone and encamp at Cothi. As the river abounds with dangerous quicksands, precautions had been taken to ascertain a ford where the bottom was sufficiently firm to bear elephants. The cattle passed without accident, and almost without alarm. The day was followed by a tempestuous night, and, though the weather was clear the next morning, we were obliged to protract the halt, that the tents might dry. At this dismal spot, close to the edge of a vast forest, we received the melancholy tidings of the massacre at Benares.[1] Grief for the loss of friends from whom we had so lately parted prepared us to commence our journey next day through a desolate forest, in a very gloomy temper of mind.[2]

Before we proceed on this dismal portion of the journey, I must pause to remark, that the Sone is not here deemed navigable, in any season of the year, for boats larger than canoes. Rocks are the reputed impediment to its navigation. The valley through which the river runs is thus deprived of carriage for its productions. Encouragement for the resort of settlers, and for the industry of the few peasants who already inhabit it, is wholly wanting. Excellent timber stands useless in the valley and on the southern range of mountains. Even the more

[1] [By Vizier Aly, the deposed Rajah, on which occasion Mr. Cherry and several other gentlemen perished. Mr. Davis's successful defence of his family is well known. They took refuge on the roof of his house, to which the only access was by a winding stair. His only weapon was a spear, with which he kept his enemies at bay until succour arrived.—ED.]

[2] In the preceding year a European adventurer, but of what nation is not known, took this route towards the Deccan, probably with the design of seeking his fortune in the service of native princes. He was assassinated in the middle of the forest, a few miles beyond the limits of the British territories. The circumstance, had it been then known to us, would have added another gloomy tinge to the aspect of the forest.

valuable productions of the hills and forests are but sparingly gathered. Lac, honey, and gums of various sorts, seed Bambus, the starch of Ticór (Tikhor), ginger, and root of long pepper, the nuts of Chironji, and many other drugs and condiments, red bole, white chalk, and ore of iron abound in the forest and near the banks of the Sone; but little is exported to the markets of Benares.

For the sake of forming an opinion on the stones that compose the mountains which the Sone has washed before it reaches Agori, numerous specimens of pebble were collected from the sand of the river. The sand itself consists of larger particles of quartz than are found in rivers flowing through a champaign country; the pebbles were much worn and rounded. Numerous specimens, variously coloured, were siliceous, and struck fire with steel; none were obedient to the magnet, even when reduced to dust. Other specimens, also variously coloured, appeared to be fragments of argillaceous stones, that have a laminated texture. Small pieces either of talc or mica were noticed among the sand.

Resuming our journey after a halt of one day, we struck into the forest within a mile of the Sone, and in three days reached the village of Bihrer near Dudhi Pelwa (Doody Pula of Rennell's map), situated at the distance of a few miles from the banks of the Canhár river. The road was a continued ascent and descent of hills, through a forest, in some parts thick, in others intermixed with grass, but nowhere exhibiting any signs whatsoever of cultivation, recent or ancient. We twice encamped in the forest on the edge of rivulets, the course of which was already stopped by the dryness of the season. Later in the year it would have been necessary to take another route by the banks of the Canhár for the sake of water, which cannot be procured in this forest after the beginning of the hot season. Tigers are said to infest this tract; accordingly, the guides cautioned us against moving any part of our cattle and attendants before daylight. We did not, however, observe

the signs of any animal whatsoever, not even birds, in the desolate tract which we here traversed.[1]

The rock which constitutes the hills on this side of the Sone is not so much exposed as on the northern side of the river. It appears to be quartzose, but not exclusively so; for argillaceous stones occupied the surface of the hills, and even the beds of water-courses in many places. Among the very numerous kinds of trees which compose the forest, the most conspicuous were the *Sala* and *Boswellia*. The fragrant gum afforded by this last tree resembles olibanum, and is, I suspect, sold in the markets of Hindustan for that drug.[2] *Sterculia urens*, common on the northern side of the Sone, yields a gum which has been mistaken for *Tragacantha*. Specimens of it, which were submitted, in the preceding year, to the inspection of very skilful persons, were pronounced to be exactly similar to the gum of the *Astragalus tragacantha*. But the doubts which were still retained have been since confirmed by the experience of merchants who exported the gum of that *Sterculia* to the markets of Europe.

In our first day's march through this forest, and very soon after quitting the banks of the Sone, we crossed the boundary of the province of Benares; and entered the territories of the Jagirdar of Uthari. The limits indeed are not well defined; but the Rajah of Agori, as a zemindar of the province of

[1] Birds are very scarce in the forests which we passed during this journey. Even in the most cultivated tract, and in the woods contiguous to them, neither the species of birds, nor the individuals, are so numerous in Berar, as in Bengal and Hindustan. It is not improbable that tigers may abound in this vast forest. However, none were seen in the whole journey, except one half-grown tiger that crossed the road near Cotha; and the elephants indicated once only that they smelled the ferocious animal which they dread and abhor.

[2] [Vide Asiatic Researches, ix. 377, where this subject is fully treated by Mr. Colebrooke. Linnæus had supposed the plant which produces the Olibanum to be a species of juniper. Travellers had hitherto failed to determine the fruit. Some of the gum, collected by Dr. Turnbull, the surgeon of the residency at Nagpur, was sent to England and offered for sale. It was instantly recognized as Olibanum, though offered under a different name, and was subsequently sold regularly at the Company's sales.—ED.]

Benares, claims a very small portion of the forest, and seems disposed to acknowledge the rights of the Jagirdar.

At Bihrer a vakil met us on the part of Bhawáni Sinh, who had recently succeeded to his father, Bud'h Sinh, Jagirdar of Uthari. Besides that Jagir in the district of Ramgerh, Bud'h Sinh acquired, by grant or purchase, the Tapesh of Dudhi and Berch, from the chief of Sinhraula, and from the Rajah of Serguja. He also enjoyed a lease in perpetuity of Rampur, in Perganah Belonjá, and formerly rented the Chacla of Bendu, in Sircar Rohtas. All these adjoin and constitute a very singular and almost independent property, in a country remote from all commercial intercourse, and thinly inhabited by uncivilized mountaineers.

Round Bihrer, and in other cultivated spots, which we viewed, as we approached the village, from the brow of a hill that overlooks it, the crops, then on the ground, consisted of wheat, barley, and chiches. Rice and flour were purchased in the village; much dearer, however, than might have been expected in so sequestered a place. In the further progress of our journey through the forests of Serguja, rice and tares (*Masúr* or *Ervum bispennum*) were the only sorts of grain which could be purchased. The supplies which we brought from the banks of the Sone could not suffice for all the camp followers, and the want of flour was felt as a serious inconvenience by the servants and porters, who were all accustomed to feed on rice.

From Bihrer we proceeded, in four days, through the Tapesh of Dudhi and Berch, to the village of Cóthi, belonging to Bijey Sinh, a disaffected chieftain of Serguja. Very small villages are thinly scattered in this tract, at distances of four, five, and six miles from each other. In the last day's march we proceeded sixteen miles without seeing an inhabited place, or any but slight traces of former culture in a single spot. The intermediate tract is a deep forest, through which a narrow road winds over hills that are accessible, or round such as

are particularly steep. Wherever the road leads to a commanding eminence, the prospect of an undulating country, covered with majestic forests, is strikingly magnificent. In the valleys the gloomy confined view is not unawful.

The tract which we here traversed is thinly inhabited by mountaineers; the inhabitants of Tapesh Dudhi mostly belong to the tribe of Gonds; those of Berch are Kherwars and Paraiyahs; the forests of Serguja are occupied by Cóls, Chórós, Kherwars, Bhuyniars, and Ranees. Concerning these and other tribes of mountaineers, little information could be gained. Almost secluded from intercourse with civilized people, they are ignorant and suspicious. In one instance, they even showed a disposition to oppose our encamping near their habitations. And, after we had succeeded in conciliating the chief of the village, they still retained their suspicion, and remained with their wives and children peeping at our encampment from the top of a hill which overhung the village. Even those who conversed most cheerfully with us could not readily apprehend our questions, nor answer them distinctly in the common dialect of India. Their own dialects are peculiar to their own tribes, or common to two or three tribes only.

The Bhuyniars are particularly entitled to the name of mountaineers; they frequent the highest spots and deepest forests, neglect husbandry, and employ themselves in gathering the produce of the woods, especially the resin of the sal, which they exchange for grain and other necessaries of life. The other tribes follow the practice of agriculture. The Gonds appear to be most advanced towards civilization, and they imitate the manners and practise the religious observances of Hindus. The Ranees are said to be Mohammedans. Other tribes of mountaineers are not restricted from any particular diet, nor do they seem to hold any animal unclean. They refrain, however, from the flesh of kine.

In answer to inquiries concerning his religious notions, a Kherwar affirmed that he often prayed to Narayan; but he

added, that he worshipped a neighbouring hill called Paspahr; and he showed us the monument as well as the hills above named; he acknowledged that he sacrificed goats on solemn occasions.

By a tacit consent among their various tribes, which are habituated to different pursuits of industry, the Bhuyniars exclusively practise the gathering of the resin of the sal. In the beginning of the rainy season they wound such trees as have been selected by them for the purpose, and take off the bark two feet above the ground, leaving the wood bare the breadth of six or eight inches. The resin exudes with the descending sap, and accumulates in this ring. It is gathered in the winter, and the tree, no doubt, perishes in the same season. So improvident a mode of collecting the resin accounts for the forest containing few besides young sal trees. This fact was particularly remarked by us, and the cause became obvious when we were made acquainted with the motive for barking the trees. After passing the boundary of Serguja, we observed great numbers of sal so barked, and we gathered specimens of the resin, for the sake of verifying a fact which has been contested. After inspecting these recent specimens, I can safely affirm that the resin called Dammer, from the Hindí name Dhúna, is the produce of the sal.

The Kherwars practise, but not exclusively, the preparation of starch from the root of Ticór, which they collect from the forest, without previous culture. The root is ground, and its pulp is mixed with water; and, without further manipulation, the starch settles at the bottom of the vessel. The water is poured off, and the starch is dried in the open air. From eight parts, by weight, of the root, one part of starch is obtained; and is commonly sold for an equal weight of salt.

The gummy resin, improperly called *Terra Japonica*, is prepared by the mountaineers from the *Mimosa Catechu* (should be Cat'h) which abounds in these forests. Gum lac and wild silk are collected in the woods. Crude iron is smelted at

numerous petty iron works in Serguja. Myrobalans and the Chironji nut are gathered in the forest. These, with other articles, which have been already hinted at, are the objects of the little traffic that is carried on between Serguja and Benares. We were informed by carriers, whom we met at different times, that they obtained those returns for salt and tobacco, which they bring from the province of Benares.

From Cóthi, the first village within Bijey Sinh's jurisdiction, we marched in three days to Herikerpur, the southern limit of his possessions; the third march was employed in ascending and descending the Simset pass. At our encampment below the pass I received a visit from the son of Bijey Sinh. This chieftain belongs to the tribe of Gonds, and bears the title of Pówá, peculiar to that tribe; but he has adopted the manners of a Hindu, and is treated as such by the Hindus of Serguja. Though disaffected to the administration of the uncle and guardian of the minor Rajah, he has not thrown off his allegiance. He pays contributions in lieu of revenue, but resists all other interference within his jurisdiction. From subsequent information, it appeared that he is not needlessly on his guard against the violence of the Rajah's guardian.

Throughout Bijey Sinh's territory, as in that of Bhawáni Sinh, which had been previously traversed by us, inhabited spots are thinly scattered in a vast forest. The villages, however, are rather more populous, and the cleared spots are somewhat less confined than in Berch and Dud'hi. The road winds excessively through deep woods and over very uneven ground, close to the foot of lofty eminences.

The road is stony, and the live rock is in many places exposed. From the banks of the Sone to the Simset pass, we crossed numerous rivulets and water-courses, the stream of which is invariably directed to the westward. This fact indicates that the ground is more elevated on the east towards the frontier of Palamú. In one rivulet I remarked blocks of granite, in the banks of another talc was found; mica, in dust, or

cemented in concrete stones, was common in many places, both on hills and in the valleys. On the summit of the Simset pass and on its steep declivities, large pieces of talc, either detached or combined with fragments of silicious stones, were abundant; but quartz is the most common rock throughout the whole of this mountainous tract.

From the 24th of January, when we encamped near the limits of Berch, to the 28th, when we traversed the Simset pass, the cold, which had gradually increased since we quitted the Sone, became intense. A hoar-frost remained on the ground after sunrise on the 25th and 26th. On the 27th at sunrise the thermometer stood at 24° of Fahrenheit's scale, and ten minutes after sunrise it had only risen to 26°. Water had frozen in brass vessels; the pools were frozen in many places, and the frost remained on them and in the shade of the forest for more than an hour, and on grass and trees for more than two hours after sunrise. At noon, the thermometer had risen to 62°; and at ten o'clock at night had fallen to 31°. A thermometer which had been exposed all night was covered with icicles on the morning of the 28th, and stood after sunrise at 21°. Another, taken out of its case, exhibited 22½° and rose to 24° when exposed for a few minutes to the air. Water had frozen in a leather bag; and the grass and trees were covered with ice. Even after our march through the Simset pass, we found ice still unmelted at nine o'clock in the forenoon. This intense cold between the latitudes of 23° and 24° confirms a received opinion that the climate of uncleared countries is colder than that of cultivated regions. Though we now travelled in a mountainous country, the elevation is quite insufficient to account for so great cold near the tropical limits.

At Herikerpur we met a numerous band of travellers proceeding to Benares. We had already met several other parties in different places. They were mostly pilgrims from various parts of the Mahratta dominions. The insults and even per-

sonal danger to which travellers were, at this time, exposed on all the other routes from the Deccan to Benares, compelled the pilgrims to choose this road, which is secure, though very circuitous and inconvenient.

After halting one day to refresh the cattle and people, who wore much fatigued by ten successive marches, we moved to Khergánwán, a village situated a mile south of the Mahánadí river. We this day traversed a cultivated country. Some spots, indeed, were waste; but even there the forest was thin, and seemed to have been formerly cleared and tilled. It exhibited the reverse of the picture which we had lately viewed in forests, where the few cultivated spots that are found are half filled with the stumps of trees recently cut down.

Rice is the chief object of tillage in this tract. Barley and pulse were seen near the villages; but most of the tilled ground had already yielded its harvest, which had evidently consisted of rice.

The natural productions of the forest from which we had now emerged are the same that have been already enumerated on the occasion of our reaching its northern skirt. Among trees not already mentioned, are *Semecarpus anacardium*, *Bassia latifolia*, and *Cratæva marmelos*, which are said to grow wild in this forest. Among useful plants, are *Rubia, Manjét'h*, and *Genticina charayta*, which the natives affirm to be common in these woods.

We were obliged to halt two days at this place, in consequence of a message received from the guardian of the minor Rajah of Serguja. My escort and retinue had been magnified by common rumour to a potent army, and the Rajah's guardian feared, or pretended to fear, hostile designs. Absurd as were such apprehensions, yet a similar alarm had been taken by the chief of Sinhraula; and the Meksil chief of Chegerh also, whose country lay on the eastern side of our route, had armed to repel an expected invasion. In the present instance the suspicions of the guardian were aggravated by the visit

which I received from the son of his enemy, Bijey Sinh. I therefore sent a confidential servant to conciliate the Rajah's guardian, and to convince him of the absurdity of the apprehensions which he entertained. This was easily accomplished, and after a delay of two days, we proceeded to Persá, and thence, on the subsequent day, to Serguja.

The country which we traversed was populous, and in general well cultivated; but in marches we passed over a considerable tract of forest ground. Persá is a large village, and a mart for grain; and the first place on the south of the Sone to which either term is applicable. It was here that we fell into the route which was formerly travelled by Mr. Chapman, when proceeding to the court of Nagpur on a public mission. Mr. Chapman took the route of Ramgerh; pursuing a track which was then, or but few years earlier, constantly beaten by merchants exporting silk from Bengal to Nagpur. This traffic has now taken a different channel, and Mirzapur is become its mart.

For a short time preceding and following the route in which we travelled, the traders who exported silks, spices, and other valuable merchandize to the Deccan, followed the same track which we pursued. But commerce is now returning to the shorter and more convenient route of Baghelcund.

A fever, with which I had been some days afflicted, rendered it necessary to prolong our stay at Serguja. This disorder did not assume the worst shape of what is denominated the forest fever; and very few persons besides myself experienced any sickness of this kind during our progress. It may, therefore, be safely pronounced, that a journey through the deepest forest is attended with little danger in the dry season. But in the rains it is highly dangerous. In two successive years I received supplies of necessary articles of consumption by this route. The servants and porters, having been each time despatched from Mirzapur at too late seasons, were overtaken by the rains, and all suffered attacks of the forest fever in its

worst form. It became a subject of much regret to me, that several persons lost their lives by sickness contracted in my service, through accidents which disappointed the precautions I had taken to obviate a danger, of which I was sufficiently aware.

The continuance of sickness during my stay at Serguja prevented the inquiries which I intended to make at this place. The productions and commerce of the country, with other objects of research, upon which I could expect accurate information at no other place, were therefore uninvestigated. A few observations only can be here subjoined.

Serguja is tributary to Berar. It belongs to a Rajput family, the heir of which is now a minor. The death of his father and predecessor is said to have been hastened by the uncle and present guardian of the Rajah; and the same fate is supposed to await the young chieftain at the hands of his unnatural kinsman. Serguja is chiefly inhabited by tribes of mountaineers. Hindus are settled in the province, but in no great number, and a few Afghan horsemen find service at this place. They fetch their horses from the annual fair, Beeser, on the Ganges; and the yearly tribute, amounting to the sum of 3,500 rupees only, is partly made good by delivering at Retunpur horses imported from that fair. It was affirmed that an increase of tribute had been lately demanded, and the claim was resisted on the ground of uniform custom. If such a demand was really made, it has not been since enforced. Serguja, situated in the midst of mountains, is naturally strong. It could not, indeed, resist the power of the Government of Berar; but the inhabitants of Serguja, without facing the Mahratta troops, would abandon their huts, and seek refuge, as they had formerly done on similar occasions, in the recesses of the forest. The complete subjugation of the country might be ultimately effected, but at greater cost than the conquest is worth. Annual tribute and the acknowledgement of subjection, but with imperfect obedience, are, for this reason, accepted by the

Rajah of Berar, or rather by his brother, on whose principality it is dependent.

After four days, the fever by which I suffered being then checked, I received a visit from the chief of Serguja and his guardian, and we proceeded on our journey the following day. In five marches we traversed the southern part of Serguja, and the fifth day proceeded towards Retunpur. For more than thirty miles the country was populous; the villages were frequent, and surrounded with arable land, but forest intervened in some places. The tops of the hills appeared to be wholly waste, and the valleys generally well cultivated. The road mostly followed the windings of the valley; it once or twice crossed a ridge of hills.

At our second encampment the tents were pitched near a pond, which tradition makes to be the scene of a celebrated legend.[1] Daśaratha, through an unhappy mistake, slew the son of a blind ascetic, while drawing water from a pond for his helpless parent. The name of the place, And'hala, is said to be founded on this event.

The third day we encamped within three or four miles of a very conspicuous hill, named Ramgerh, which had been seen and remarked from Serguja, and which remained in sight even after we crossed the boundary of Chetesgerh. Annual fairs are held there, which invite a great resort from very distant places. Though esteemed a place of much sanctity, it is uninhabited, and is not even become the abode of a single devotee, or recluse, nor been honoured with a temple or any other edifice. The images of the gods, as we learnt from inquiry (for we did not visit the spot), are left exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

[1] [It forms one of the episodes of the Râmâyaṅa. Daśaratha, the father of Râma, is punished for this deed of blood in the banishment of his son, and eventually dies under the curse. A translation of this episode appears, among other specimens of Indian poetry, in the late Dean Milman's works. See also Prof. Monier Williams' Lectures on Indian Epic Poetry. Mr. Colebrooke, in his essay on Sanscrit poetry, inserts the version of the same incident from Câlidâsa's Raghuvanśa.—ED.]

In our fourth march we found the road extremely bad. For nearly five miles it led us over rugged hills, but afterwards through a cultivated valley. Thence we again entered a forest, and encamped on the banks of a rivulet. The fifth march we traversed a steep and difficult pass. The whole tract was mountainous; and the road, through uninterrupted forest, was even more fatiguing to our people and cattle than the worst part of the route between the Sone and Serguja.

We that day pitched our tents within the limits of Chetesgerh, near a small village, in a very confined valley; and thence, in two marches, reached Ch'huri, a populous town three miles south of the Hetsu river. The intermediate day, after crossing very craggy hills, and then passing an equal tract of less rugged country, which is, however, very sparingly cultivated, we encamped on a small hill, at the foot of a more lofty and conspicuous one, named Chendi. It is remarkable for a figure rudely delineated, either by nature, or by art, on a perpendicular precipice, and bears a real or fancied resemblance to a cock. This figure is worshipped under the title of Chendipat. From this place to Ch'huri, the first half of the way is a stony road, through thick forest, in a very narrow valley; the remainder of it traverses a well-cultivated country, interspersed, however, with some barren land, thinly covered with stunted forest.

Throughout the whole of our journey we crossed numerous rivulets and water-courses. But the Hetsu, or Nend-Hetsu, is the first that we saw which could be dignified with the name of river. Its course, from the west to the east, demonstrates that the highest land lies to the westward. In fact, it has its source on the same spot, whence two celebrated rivers, the Sone and Nermada, flow; one towards the north, and the other towards the west. Amarcantac, in which are the fountains of these three rivers, must evidently be the highest ground in the Vind'hya range of mountains. The course of the Nermada shows the direction of the highest range towards

the west. At the Simset pass we crossed that range extending towards the east, and again another branch of it on the confines of Chetesgerh, and Serguja.

The place where we crossed the Hetsu cannot be more than forty miles horizontal distance from Amarcantac. At Retunpur, which is further from that mountain, the computed travelling distance, on a very winding road, was stated at eighteen *gondi cos,* or thirty-six *gao cos*, equal to sixty-five miles of road distance. The mountain is said to be surrounded by forest for several days' journey. The extreme cold, which was attributed to it by the persons from whom we made inquiries concerning that mountain, is a further indication of its great height. It is sometimes visited by pilgrims; but the fables which are recounted concerning the place are too absurd for repetition. Serpents of the boa kind may really abound there; but the size to which they are said to grow is too extravagant for belief. It is pretended that the fountains of all three rivers have been inclosed within one basin of masonry, from which the infant streams are allowed to flow. Whatever credit we might have been disposed to give this asseveration was completely forfeited by subsequent gradations of anility. It is strange that the absurdest fables should be current even among a credulous people, at a short distance from the spot. The only fact which I will venture to affirm, on the authority of answers to inquiries here made, is, that the boundaries of three provinces which had, until lately, three different masters, meet at Amarcantac. They are Garah, Sohagpur, and Chetesgerh.

The Hetsu does not become navigable so near its source for boats larger than canoes; yet the vicinity of the river has probably contributed to render Ch'huri and the surrounding districts a populous and well-cultivated country. Here, for the first time since we crossed the Sone, we obtained supplies of flour, chich peas, and other meal and pulse, which our servants and attendants, being natives of Hindustan, unwillingly forewent while traversing a country in which nothing could

be procured besides rice and tares. Clarified butter, instead of oil of Bassia, which the mountaineers abundantly supplied, was a change that seemed more indifferent to them. That oil, when recent, is a good substitute for butter, in cooking at least, if not for other uses.[1]

Ch'huri is one of the thirty-six towns and forts, which give name to the province of Chetesgerh. It is a mart not only for corn and various productions of industry, but also for gum lac, and other produce of the forest. In fact, the district dependent on Ch'huri, though a well-cultivated country when compared with that which we had before passed, contains much forest.

The trees that compose the woods between Serguja and this place belong to the same kind which were noticed in the former part of the journey. Some have been already enumerated; others, the botanical names of which have not been ascertained, would be needlessly mentioned by appellations which they bear in the vernacular dialects, or even in the Hindu language. The most common trees were the *Sal Boswellia* and *Piyal*: many noble climbers, mostly belonging to the convolvulus kind, add greatly to the beauty of the forest.

On the hills, which we passed after entering the limits of Chetesgerh, argillaceous grit seemed to be the most common stone. But, after crossing the Hetsu, we found on its southern bank low hills, that consisted of micaceous rock. Within the limits of Serguja, the prevailing stone is pure quartz, and fragments of it are often found in concrete stone combined with micaceous and argillaceous cement. Not a single specimen of calcareous stone was observed.

It was found necessary to halt at Ch'huri for the sake of refreshing the people and cattle, and to collect supplies of grain. During two days that our encampment remained there the

[1] It is probably the same which Mr. Park found in the internal parts of Africa, and which he names the *shea*, or butter tree. His description of the fruit corresponds exactly with the drupe of the Bassia.

curiosity of the inhabitants seemed unsatiated. A crowd of spectators continually surrounded the tents. The sight of Europeans must have been more novel and extraordinary to the mountaineers in the former part of our journey; yet they rarely approached the encampment. Their fears probably overcame their curiosity. But at populous places, such as Serguja, Persá, and Ch'huri, the inhabitants gathered confidence from their numbers, and ventured to view us at leisure.

From Ch'huri we reached Retunpur in three days. The first day we travelled through a cultivated country interpersed with tracts of waste land, covered with grass and with stunted trees. Among these the leafy *Butea* was most conspicuous. The practice of annually burning the grass during the dry season, for the sake of obtaining younger shoots for the pasture of cattle, is the probable cause that the forest is here stunted. The effects of fire were plainly marked on the trunks of the trees. In open plains, covered with grass, when fire is communicated to standing hay, in the dry season, and whilst a strong wind blows, the flame rages with so much fury and rapidity, that persons travelling in narrow paths are exposed to great danger. At different places in the course of the journey, the baggage and attendants were, from this cause, endangered. In one instance the peril was imminent, but followed by a happy escape.

The second day we traversed an extensive forest, over ground very stony and uneven. A chain of lofty hills, which we observed the preceding day on our right, and another, less elevated, which we noticed on the left, are connected by a low ridge, which we this day crossed. The stone was quartzose, with some siliceous grit. A few specimens of this last sort had been also noticed in the valleys of Serguja.

The third day we travelled over a well-cultivated and populous plain. We were welcomed by the Subahdar of Retunpur, who met us at the distance of three or four miles from the town; and we encamped on the skirts of it, at the foot of a

small hill, which bears the name of Ramtec, from a temple erected upon it by the late Bimbajee, in imitation of one that stands near Nagpur. The image of the founder has been placed in a building similar to the temple. The figure stands in a praying posture, opposite to the idols of Rám Lacshman and Sita. This method of placing a marble representative, to continue the devotional practice of the principal, after his decease, has been adopted by Mahratta ladies and chieftains in many other places.

Bimbajee was uncle of the present Rajah of Berar, and had, for his appanage or separate allotment, Chetesgerh, and other eastern provinces, in the same manner that Vincajee, the Rajah's brother, now holds them. Bimbajee made Retunpur his constant abode; and his widow still resides here. We received from her, and returned, compliments and civility, and paid a visit to her, at her abode within the fort, which very ill deserves to become the habitation of a prince.

Retunpur is the chief town of the northern half of Chetesgerh, as Rayapur is of the southern portion of the same province. It was formerly held by an independent prince belonging to the Hacheya, or Harho tribe of Rajputs. One branch of the family held Retunpur, another Rayapur. Both were subjugated by the Mahrattas, about the time when these were accustomed to make aunual incursions into Bengal. One branch of that ancient family is extinct; the other enjoys a very small provision for its maintenance, and has sunk into obscurity. The former proprietors of Retunpur have left manifest traces of their religious devotion in the numerous temples erected by them, and the ponds, excavated for the gratification of piety, rather than for public use. No fewer than seven hundred ponds are reckoned in the vicinity of Retunpur.

The town is not large, but is populous in proportion to its precincts. It contains edifices of masonry; some of which are dwelling-houses, but none are temples. It is entirely sur-

rounded, at the distance of one or two miles in every direction, by very low hills, which, in some places, do not exceed twenty feet, in none seem to rise above sixty. A chain of similar low hills takes an easterly direction. The whole province of Chetesgerh is mountainous; and, though some tracts are well-cultivated, it is too remote from great markets for its produce to find a profitable vent.

The husbandry in the immediate vicinity of the town exhibited traces of a crop of rice. The standing fields consisted of wheat, chich peas, linseed, and some coriander. At the distance of a few miles, several sugar-mills were noticed.

More birds were found near Retunpur than in the former part of the journey. In the forests scarcely a single bird of any kind was ever seen. But here, snipes, wild ducks, teal, gallinules, and other sorts of water fowls, were found in the ponds, or on the edges of them. Quails abounded in the fields: a single bustard (*Otis Indica*) was seen. Kites and crows were sufficiently numerous near the town.

On the edges of the ponds we noticed many rude furnaces, or boiling places. There exists an economical practice, which I have not seen in any other part of India; namely, the washing of clothes in boiling water. Everywhere else, linen is washed in cold water, and beaten on stones or boards. The example of Retunpur might be advantageously copied in other Indian towns.

Necessary arrangements detained us three days at Retunpur. Resuming our journey, we reached Déocar in seven days, including one half, after a forced march. The road passes the towns of Tekhtpur, which are reckoned among the thirty-six forts or towns that give name to the province. The country is a plain, gently undulated, and is watered by numerous rivulets, which all flow in an easterly direction.

A chain of hills on the right, gradually recedes from the road. The country is open, and, by comparison with other tracts which we traversed, may be termed populous and well cultivated.

But the waste ground, covered with grass, and, in some places, with stunted trees, much exceeds the arable land. The soil is clayey; argillaceous stones were remarked in the banks of the rivulets. In a few spots on the plain the base rock, consisting of siliceous grit, was exposed to view; in one rivulet, calcareous stones were remarked, and small pieces of talc were found in the beds of most rivulets, both in this tract and in that which we had before traversed.

The population consists chiefly of mountaineers, belonging to tribes which have adopted the manners of Hindus, and have even assumed the sacerdotal thread. In the wilder parts of the province, the mountaineers are said to retain their original manners. The industry of the peasant is employed in cultivating wheat, linseed, chiches, pigeon-peas, kidney beans, and tares. All these were now on the ground. Rice had been reaped in its season; and also maize, panic, Indian millet, and other sorts of grain. Some sugar-cane, tobacco, and saf flowers, were noticed near the villages. We here remarked, with pleasure, that the harvest is transported on carts from the field to the village. The same practice prevails near Nagpur. It is unaccountable that it should be universally neglected in Bengal and in Hindustan.

Scarcely a single plant of cotton was seen. But we twice met, on the road, carriers conducting loads of raw cotton towards Catalu, a mart near Cuttack. They had provided the loads at places not very distant from the spots where we met them, but situated in the hilly parts of the province. It is strange that they should load cattle with raw cotton, which, by their own account, will only account, when cleared of seed and dirt, one-third its weight in cotton wool. They stated the prime cost of each load at six *rupiyas*, the charge of transport at five, and their expectation of the market at twenty. The profit would be still greater upon cotton wool.

The produce of cotton in Chetesgerh cannot be considerable; for great quantities of cotton wool are annually transported

from Nagpur. At this last-mentioned place it is sometimes laden on canoes and small boats, to descend the Mahánadí; but the navigation is not so advantageous as to render the practice of it general.

Chetesgerh exports to Nagpur rice and wheat by land carriage; but the charges of transport are so great that the traders cannot afford a large price to the peasant. Grain is very cheap in this part of the province. But the exactions of rent, if the peasants may be believed, are exorbitant. According to information received from them at Newagerh, Mungeli, and other places, confirmed too by subsequent inquiries at Nagpur, the rents are here regulated by the number of ploughs: and no land measure of any kind is employed or even known. Four oxen are allowed for each plough; and a tax is levied at rates varying between ten and sixteen *rupiyas* for the plough. Near Nagpur the rate of the tax is more considerable, but is regulated in the same manner. We were already acquainted with this mode of adjusting rents, for it also prevails in Serguja, and in Dudhi and Berch.[1] But the tax in these last-mentioned districts was stated at no more than one *rupiya* for each plough.[2] In answer to inquiries concerning the produce of land tilled by one plough, the peasants at Newagerh stated the quantity of seed usually sown at four measures, and the produce at sixty. The measure contains about a hundred avoirdupois pounds.

The other exports, besides grain, are oil, clarified butter, starch of Tikhor, gum lac, resin, wax, and honey. We met carriers returning with unloaded cattle, which, as they informed us, had conveyed resin and lac from Ch'huri to Nagpur. Another and more numerous party, was returning with unloaded oxen to Mirzapur. They had conveyed a very valuable adventure of silk.

[1] It prevails also in the northern provinces of Bengal, on the frontiers of Assam, Bhotan, and Moran.

[2] The Vakil of the proprietor, while he furnished this information, added, in a significant manner, that the peasants abscond whenever it is attempted to raise the rent or impose new assessments and taxes.

At Tekhtpur we met a very large caravan of pilgrims, on their way to Benares. Many covered litters conveyed females belonging to respectable families. Others, of less rank, rode on ponies. It is, however, common, though we did not then observe a single instance of the custom, for ladies of high rank amongst the Mahrattas to ride on horseback. The caravan came from Puna, but was augmented by the junction of some pilgrims at Nagpur. In the subsequent years, caravans, still more numerous, passed Nagpur, on their way to Benares, by the route of Serguja; and many pilgrims from Nagpur itself took the same road. The annual resort of devout persons, from all parts of the Deccan, and especially from the Mahratta territories, to Benares, Allahabad, and Gaya, is great. Other roads being now unsafe, this route, though circuitous, is preferred by most pilgrims, as well as Hindus, from the Deccan to Benares, as Mohammedans, from Bengal towards Surat, on their road to Mecca.

It had been intended, in conformity with the advice received at Retunpur, to proceed by the way of Dhemdha; but, for the sake of pursuing the shortest route, if it should be found practicable, we were induced to continue in the direct track towards Nagpur. We accordingly proceeded from Déocar to Khairagerh. This employed two days. In the latter part of the first day's march the chain of hills, which disappeared near Newagerh, was again in sight. The second day we gradually approached the same range.

At Khairagerh it forms an amphitheatre, turning from a south-westerly to a southerly direction. The country is cultivated and populous; not, however, without some tracts of waste land covered with grass, interspersed with leafy *Butea*, *jeoube*,[1] and *Rhammes*. Khairagerh, like Mungeli, and Newagerh, is surrounded with acacia. But the gum and bark do not become objects of trade; they are only used on the spot. As we approached Khairagerh, we found fields of cotton. The

[[1] Probably Jujube, the *Zizyphus Jujuba* of India.—ED.]

plant was intermixed with the pigeon-pea and *Palma Christi.* On the edge of the rivulet, that runs by Khairagerh, we remarked the culture of melons; and on its banks egg plants. A small field of the somniferous poppy had been noticed at Mungeli.

The choice of four roads was now offered to us. The shortest was not deemed the most eligible, because steep passes and a wide forest intervene. By the advice of a person who met us at this place, on the part of the Amil of Lanji, to whose jurisdiction Khairagerh appertains, we chose the route which was described as most practicable, and consequently most expeditious, though somewhat circuitous. It was further recommended, by the example of the mother of the Rajah of Berar, and his brother, Vincajee Bhausla, who were then proceeding by that very route to Retunpur, on their way to the temple of Jagannath, in Cuttack.

We moved from Khairagerh on the 3rd of March, and fell into their track, at Bergaon, on the 5th. They had encamped at this village three days earlier; and we found, in our subsequent progress, their march imprinted by the desolation of all the small villages through which they had passed. The inhabitants had fled from the depredations of their camp followers, and from the oppression of compulsory labour. This must be imputed to their attendants only; but military execution against some Zemindars of Chetesgerh, for a trivial offence, and confiscations against eminent chiefs in Cuttack, on a flimsy pretence, were subsequent acts for which the prince himself, or his royal mother, must exclusively answer.

The highest extremity of the hills, which took a southerly direction from Khairagerh, bore due north from our encampment at Bergaon; detached hills occupied the western horizon, and, on the south, a distant range of mountains could be perceived, and its direction was judged to be south-east.

Several chains of rocks cross the plain; they were, at this time, decorated by numberless trees of *Bombax gossypium,* in

full blossom; and the yellow hue of these flowers was beautifully contrasted with the flame-coloured blossom of *Butea frondosa*, equally abundant on the plain. The *Boswellia* added, by its own beauty, and by the fragrancy of its gum, to the delight which the elegance of the scenery afforded; and which consoled us for this approach to another forest, after marching three days through a populous and well-tilled country.

Proceeding from Bergaon, we crossed a low range of hills by a stony, but very practicable pass, and marched three days through a forest, which is intersected by several rivulets; but rarely interrupted by culture. The few villages that were scattered in it had been recently desolated, as already mentioned. The face of the country is undulated; but the road is covered with soil, and has few loose stones. However, the additional fatigue now sustained by the cattle made us experience, with accumulated weight, the consequence of the hardships which the cattle had borne, in the very difficult roads before travelled by us. Two elephants had been left lame at the different places; four were disabled, by the galling of their backs, from carrying their usual burdens; several camels had died, and most of the rest were now either lame or galled by their saddles. By assigning a part of their loads to the healthy cattle, and by fresh aid of hired oxen, we were enabled to proceed, notwithstanding these increasing difficulties. We overtook, in the forest, carriers conducting towards Nagpur numerous droves of oxen, loaded with grain, especially linseed, sesamum, and wheat. At Deori Cishori, where we encamped on the third day from Bergaon, several large droves of cattle were detained for the adjustment of a petty duty of custom, levied then at the rate of one *ánà* per load. Similar duties are collected at many other stations.

The loss of time and the vexations, not to mention undue exactions, to which traders become thus exposed, are far more burdensome than the amount of the taxes so collected. No intermediate customs should ever be exacted within the terri-

tories of the same sovereign, between the place where the merchandize is purchased and the market where it is sold. This obvious principle of finance is unknown to the government of Berar, and to most other native governments in India; and the carriers are exposed to exactions, more or less heavy, once, or even oftener, in every day's journey.

On the skirt of the forest we met traders going to Rayapur, to load with cocoa-nuts for Nagpur. The nuts are brought from the neighbourhood of the sea, where this sort of palm thrives better than in mountainous and inland countries. At Rayapur they are laden on oxen, at the cost of twenty to twenty-five *rupiyas* for the load, and are sold at Nagpur for twenty-seven to thirty *rupiyas*. Such, at least, is the statement that was given by these traders.

At Deori Cishori we halted an additional day, for the double purpose of giving rest to the cattle, and allowing the Muslems in our camp to celebrate the great festival;[1] which they did, by erecting a temporary edgah,[2] where a couple of chapters of the Koran were read, for their edification, by one of my attendants, who had used foresight and precaution in obtaining the necessary instructions and authority from the cazi of Retunpur.

Leaving Deori Cishori on the 10th of March, we traversed the remainder of the forest, and encamped near a small village, at the foot of a pass, which was crossed by us the next morning; and we thence proceeded to Sundregaon, passing numerous villages, intermixed, however, with patches of forest.

Here, and in the whole tract from Bergaon to this place, the great Tectona,[3] is a common tree; and the inhabitants of

[1] So the festival that follows the Mohammedan lent is called. The people assemble at a place allotted for the purpose, where the head of the law reads two chapters of the Koran, the first, and another; and afterwards recites the usual orison.

[[2] See p. 176 of this Vol.—ED.]

[3] Sagun, *Tectona grandis*, called teak by Europeans in India. From what language this name was borrowed is uncertain. The Hindu name, Sagun, prevails in the Deccan, and on the western coast of India.

the province are well acquainted with the value of its timber. Besides this, we found many old acquaintances among the plants of the forest.

At Sundregaon we took leave of the hills, and proceeded to Sangerh, over a gently-undulating country, well tilled, with only a few patches of forest interspersed. Here, as at Sundregaon, and at several intermediate spots, large ponds have been formed by a simple expedient, which will be more fully noticed in another place. On the edge of the pond, and almost surrounded by its water, stands the fort of Sangerh, an old building, and, seemingly, in bad repair. It is contiguous to a large village, which contains some neat houses; and the roads, that lead in various directions, were thronged with carts and carriages, and exhibited an active scene, which excited a pleasing sensation arising from the thought, that we had at length emerged from deserts and forests into an inhabited and civilized country.

Here we were welcomed by a person of rank, deputed for that purpose by the court of Nagpur. He accompanied us during the remainder of the march. The same person, Shekh Mohammed Ali, had executed the same office on former similar occasions. It was, he said, his privilege to welcome British ministers to the court of Berar. This venerable old gentleman was (he is since deceased) more than eighty years of age, but active and capable of undergoing much fatigue. On this, and on examples of longevity in his family, he confidently relied for a much longer life; but, in the subsequent year, succumbed under the fatigues of a winter campaign against a marauding partisan.

At this time, notwithstanding Mohammed Ali's hopes of long life, he did not neglect the means usually employed, by very old men, to atone for the sins of their youth, and to reconcile themselves with heaven, on the brink of the grave. The Shekh, to the punctual recitation of the five daily prayers, added frequent repetition of passages from the Koran. On

horseback, in a chair, or wherever placed, he muttered the holy sentences, without hindrance to conversation. He readily stopt the recital to make a lively remark or to return a prompt answer; and as readily resumed his devout muttering. But his devotion, nearly exempt from bigotry, had not damped his cheerfulness, which maintained its uniform tenor, notwithstanding a copious dose of opium, swallowed by him twice in each day.

The venerable Shekh conducted us, on the 13th of March, to Lakhni, where we were tempted, by the shade of a large and well-grown orchard, to halt a second day, for the sake of giving repose to our jaded cattle. This was the first shelter which we found since the weather had grown sultry. In the forest, the underwood prevents the traveller from taking shelter under the trees; and in the cultivated tracts through which we had since passed, orchards, and even single fruit-trees, were almost wholly wanting. This want indicates the deficiency of encouragement for agriculture and population. Wherever peasants become confident of transmitting their farms to their posterity, their earliest care is to plant trees for the benefit of their children. Both reason and religion dictate this duty to a Hindu peasant; when it has been uniformly neglected, the administration of the country must have been uniformly faulty.

We were here entertained with an exhibition, common in the Deccan; a series of pictures, (if pictures they may be called) figuring the fabulous horses of the Bhárat. The exhibition was accompanied with unmelodious song, and with the music of a drum, and of an instrument consisting of a brass plate, on which a waxed stick is held perpendicularly, and rubbed, to excite vibrations on the plate.

Leaving Lakhni, on the 15th of March, we forded the Banganga, and encamped near the fort of Bhandara, after passing some hilly and unequal ground, and subsequently traversing a very open and well-tilled country. The towns

and villages are populous, and surrounded with fruit-trees, especially *Eugenia jambos*. Fields of kidney-beans, (*dolichos*) of safflower, and of sugar-cane, indicate the varied husbandry of populous districts. I noticed, as a singular mixture of crops, kidney-beans and chiches, in fields of sugar-cane.

The next day we found good shelter in an orchard, near the village of Merore, contiguous to a garden of plantations and a field of tobacco. We here noticed, for the first time, a very simple contrivance, which is adapted to all deep wells in this part of the Deccan. It consists of a hose attached to the bottom of the bucket, and drawn over a roll into a trough. By duly proportioning the height of the pulley above the well, and the length of the ropes which pass over the pulley and roller, none of the water is wasted; and no other attendance is required but that of a driver to guide the oxen in their alternate walks to and from the well.

On the 18th of March, having rested the preceding day in a garden at Umri, and traversed an open country, which is grazed by wild antelopes, though not ill-cultivated, we encamped on the banks of the Nag, in sight of Nagpur, and at the distance of two miles from it. The son and grand-children of our Shekh, and the principal officers of the corps of Arab infantry, which he commanded, visited him at this place. The joy with which they welcomed the return of the patriarch, after his short absence, pleasingly demonstrated the affection which they bore to an indulgent parent and a mild commander.

The next morning, agreeably to a previous appointment, and conformably with arrangements now concerted, I paid my first visit to the Rajah of Berar; his eldest nephew welcomed me in my tents, which were purposely pitched in a garden contiguous to the town. He himself received me in his own palace. I reserve the description of the edifice, and of the style and manners of the court, for another place; and I shall here close the journey; adding, that three days after my arrival, at the pressing instance of the rajah, I took up my

abode in the place allotted to me, a garden and summer-house, which belonged to his deceased brother, Chimnajee.

HOMEWARD JOURNEY.

Having received letters of recall on the 8th of May, 1801, I expedited the preparations of the journey homewards, and taking leave of the court of Nagpur on the 18th, moved the next day to Comté, on the banks of the Cand'hán river, the junction of the Colár, and half a mile below that of the Peck. On this holy spot,—for the Hindus attribute some sanctity to the places where even unhallowed streams meet,—Vincajee Bhausla has built and endowed a temple, dedicated by him to Siva. The unfinished building contains a sacred type of that deity, fetched from the Nermada, a river which, like the Gandhac, has the happy privilege of furnishing idols, shaped without the aid of a sculptor's hand; for, near Omcár, it possesses an inexhaustible treasure of stones, abraded by the stream to the form assigned for the type of Siva. An Omcár Maheswara has been translated, by the piety of Vincajee, to the banks of the Cand'hán.

A second day was passed at the same place, assembling the camp-followers and attendants, who are always tardy in a first march. On the 21st we proceeded to Ramtec, the Rámagiri of the Indian theogenies. Here, Ráma, with his wife Sita, and brother Lacshman, halted in their way from Ayud'h towards the southern promontory; and here, Lacshman, influenced by the soil, became enamoured of his brother's wife. The ground is more truly classic, as the spot which the anonymous author of the Még'hadúta chose for the scene of his poem. A celestial spirit of an inferior order, banished upon earth, and separated from a beloved wife, makes this hill his abode; and here he vents, to a passing cloud, his tender regrets and amorous impatience. The chaste love, which is the subject of that beautiful little poem, contrasted with the

incestuous desires of Lacshman, and all the licentious legends of the voluminous Puráńs, may suggest, that preference is due (and assuredly it is) to the profane before the sacred poetry of the Hindus.

The hill of Rám is the highest among a chain of peaks, which is continued, with a few breaks, both in the easterly and westerly directions. Its summit is covered with temples and other buildings consecrated to Rám, and the accustomed associates of the worship paid to that deified hero. Opposite to it, on a rival peak, is the tomb of a Mohammedan saint; and the foot of this hill is connected by a long dyke with another immense dyke about a mile distant. The lake, formed by this dam, covers many hundred acres in the early months after the rains, but was now almost dry.

On the 22nd, we traversed a forest, and encamped at Dungartál, a village which the lake takes its name from, formed by a wall of masonry, across a very narrow gorge between steep and rocky hills. The scene is picturesque: but the sight of a decaying village detracted from the pleasure with which the landscape might be viewed. Since the province of Garah has been re-united to the dominions of the Rajah of Berar, the frequent passage of troops, and of persons belonging to the brigade, stationed in that province, subjects the villages, situated on the side of the road, to almost daily calls for compulsory, and sometimes gratuitous, labour. The practice of pressing people for the conveyance of baggage from village to village, would not be tolerated by a well-regulated government. Its effects were seen by us in every subsequent march, demonstrated by the evident decay of many villages, and the total desertion of others.

Dungartál was the first acquisition of a Patán family, which now holds an extensive jagir, reaching from this place to the confines of the province of Garah. The present possessors of the jagir descend, in the fifth degree, from Raja Khan, an adventurer from the north of India, who obtained

service with the then chief of Déogerh, and left to his posterity this estate with the title of diwan. A substantial house, the ancient residence of the family, yet remains; but the more eligible abode of Shínní and Ch'hepára has drawn the descendants of Raja Khan to the banks of the Bán Ganga.

From Dungartál, we proceeded, in two days, to Mehgaon, traversing a forest which is rarely interrupted by tillage, and ascending a very steep and rocky pass. An undulating country, clothed with thick and lofty woods, exhibited much beautiful scenery, which reminded us of our former journey. The forest contains leafy *Butea*, and long-leaved *Bassia;* some *Sal* and *Catechu mimosa;* the three sorts of *Myrobalan;* the great *Tectona*, *Chelonoid bignonia*, and *Fistular cassia;* the fragrant *Boswellia;* a beautiful climbing *Bauhinia;* the Indian, and religious fig-trees; and many other conspicuous plants.

The stone is everywhere siliceous. In some places the road is reddened by the decomposition of a siliceous grit; but the rocks seem mostly quartzose. However, specimens of a sandstone, both red and white, were noticed in several spots. These observations, with the preceding remarks on the plants of the forest, are not restricted to the woods and hills between Dungartál and Mehgaon.

The last-named village is neatly built, and has a constant market for the supply of the wants of travellers. It stands on table-land, gently undulating, and which is sufficiently wooded, with majestic trees scattered on the plain. Several other villages in sight of Mehgaon indicate extensive culture.

We were here compelled to halt one day, to refresh the cattle and people; some of whom, having missed the way, added needless fatigue to a forced march. Our good fortune exempted us from a frequent repetition of the same accident, to which we were much exposed. At most seasons, the night is the proper time for travelling in India; the intense heat of the weather made it now peculiarly necessary to avoid march-

ing in the day.[1] Long stages were expedient, because the commencement of the rainy season was at hand. To reach the Ganges, even by forced marches, was almost hopeless, but to make every exertion for that object was indispensable. A single fall of rain would fill the rivers, and render even brooks and rivulets impassable. To halt until the torrents had passed would then become unavoidable. With every such interruption, the season would advance, and our difficulties would increase; entangled among forests, in a mountainous country covered with woods, we should soon be surrounded with disease; for, in the rainy season, the air of such countries is pregnant with the seeds of a fatal distemper,—*the fever of the forest*. It was, therefore, our constant and anxious wish to make as long marches as the people and cattle could perform; but it was not found easy so to regulate the stages.

At an advanced period of the dry season, when pools and rivulets are mostly dry, convenient stages would not always bring us to a spot where water could be procured. Shade was, in this very sultry weather, almost as necessary as water for the attendants and camp-followers. Fodder for numerous cattle, and supplies of grain for a large camp, always require provident care. The difference of a smooth or rugged road makes the same distance an easy journey in one case, and a laborious one in the other. In regulating our stages by all these considerations, we fully experienced the uncertainty of estimated measures, the unit of which is too large. The road measure of this part of the Deccan is the *gondi cos*, reckoned equal to two (others say three), *megheli or gao cos*, which are a little shorter than the *benjari cos*. Four if not five different measures, bearing the same denominations, become the source of constant perplexity; and, in so large a unit, as the equivalent of four or five miles, the error or uncertainty of a *fourth* part must be apprehended in the computed distance of

[1] During the middle of the day, a thermometer, in the shade, varied from 100° to 105° of Fahrenheit's scale.

one day's journey. We sometimes experienced the variation of a *third*, and often found the journey of the day exceed or fall short of the expected distance in the proportion first mentioned. Throughout Hindustan, where distances are generally reckoned by the *common cos*, computed distances are not found to differ so widely from actual measurements.

I resume the narrative.—From Mehgaon we proceeded through a well-cultivated country, by a good road, to Nariara. We crossed one running stream, and many dry beds of rivulets, and left on our right the town of Sioni, where the jagirdar, Diwan Mohammed Zeman Khan, usually resides. His house is a large and lofty edifice, which was a conspicuous object from the road, though distant four or five miles from it.

A second march brought us to Ch'hepára. We traversed a forest of thinly-scattered trees, crossed many beds of rivulets, and descended several declivities into the valley, in which the Bán Ganga runs. This valley is well tilled, and, jointly with the rest of the jagir, furnishes Nagpur with much wheat and other grain, conveyed thither upon oxen.

The town of Ch'hepára is large and populous. The Bán Ganga passes (I cannot say flows) through the middle of it; on the banks of the river, whose stream was now suspended by the dryness of the season, stands a large house, the abode of the younger branch of the Jagirdar's family. The town contains few other buildings of masonry, but many spacious though unsubstantial houses, thatched, as is usual in the Deccan, even for the smallest cottage. Ch'hepára is adorned by two cypress gardens; it was at this time decorated by temporary buildings, in which the wedding of the Jagirdar, who espoused the daughter of his uncle, had been celebrated a few days before with much splendour. This nobleman, the head of a numerous clan of Patáns, settled on his jagir, maintains the princely state of a grand feudatory, and, like an ancient baron in the feudal days of Europe, renders military service to the paramount. He had just received a summons

to repair to Nagpur with his forces, for the purpose of assisting in quelling a dangerous mutiny of the Rajah's regular troops; and, a few months earlier, he relieved the necessities of the Bhausla by a benevolence of three lacs of *rupiyas*.[1]

Having exchanged compliments with him, but declined his offer of a visit, and his invitation to an entertainment, because the progress of my journey would have been thereby delayed for one or more days, I moved on the 28th to Lachnadon. The road rises by several steep and rugged ascents, from the valley to the top of the hills. Many rivulets, among which the Bijna was distinguished as the only stream not yet exhausted by the drought of the season, intersect the mountainous interval.

Near the Bijna are two villages; everywhere else forest and rock occupy both the brow of the hills and the declivity. Tigers are said to infest this forest; it certainly shelters a less noxious animal, the bear, for one crossed the road before us, on the edge of the forest, as we emerged from the woods into the undulated plain in which Lachnadon is situated.

This village stands on a small eminence, one side of which, being entirely bare of soil, singularly exposes the naked in the whole extent of a gentle declivity. The surrounding plain, sparingly cultivated, is as sparingly wooded with the leafy *Butea*. However, a plantation of very lofty bambus (the only such plantation seen by us in the Deccan) adorns the bank of a rivulet, which here marks the boundary between the Jagir of Ch'hepára and the province of Garah. We afterwards passed several villages, and encamped at Dhuma, having travelled over a country gently undulated, and almost wholly clear of rock and forest.[2]

[1] They had mutinied on account of great arrears. When the mutiny was at length quelled, these arrears were deemed forfeited, the whole of the effects belonging to officers and men confiscated, and the ring-leaders put to death. The conduct of the government in first withholding the pay of its troops, and then punishing with the utmost rigour a mutiny occasioned by distress, and countenanced by frequent precedents, cannot be too much reprobated.

[2] Near this place is said to have been fought a memorable battle between the

From Dhuma, a rugged way led us to the deserted village of Raichor, at the foot of a steep and stony pass. The sides of the road exhibited, for most part of the way, signs of recent tillage: a pond, and the ruins of a large temple, indicate the past prosperity of Raichor. But oppression has driven the peasants from the neighbourhood of a road continually travelled by an unbridled soldiery, and Pipariya,[1] to which we marched next day from Raichor, is the only inhabited place upon the road between Dhuma and the banks of the Nermada; although orchards and plantations of fruit-trees, in several breaks of the intermediate forests, show that other spots were once the cheerful abodes of men.

In these two marches we crossed several hills steep and stony; and another on the third day near the banks of the Nermada. The summits of the hills are thinly clothed with forest, and their sides are channelled by the beds of torrents.

On the 1st of June we proceeded from Pipariya to Jebelpur, crossing the Nermada midway. The river is here confined by very steep banks, about two hundred yards apart; but the breadth of the stream was at this time a few yards only, and its depth, fewer inches; yet this humble current, receiving the tribute of numerous rivers in its course, at length swells to the majestic beauty which the Nermada exhibits as it approaches the sea.

At a small distance from the northern bank, the road passes through an avenue of hills, which have been deprived of their soil either by rain or by inundation. The skeleton alone remains, consisting of vast rocks heaped on each other in strange disorder. By daylight the view must be sublime; we saw it by the pale light of a gibbous moon. With this

forces of the first Raghojee and those of the rajah of Mendla; it decided the fate of the Gond prince.

[1] So thinly is this village inhabited, and so little is the value of tillage here, and in the vicinity, that Pipariya, in conjunction with eleven other villages, south of the Nermada, pays the annual revenue of 180 rupees only.

disadvantage, we could not sufficiently observe the circumstances of these hills, nor choose the fittest specimens of the rock. However, a sandy road, and the worn base of the rocks, suggest inundation as the probable cause of the nakedness of these hills; and the specimens, taken from the several rocks, exhibit two sorts of stone, one sandstone, the other compounded of quartzose fragments, loosely connected by an argillaceous cement.

Leaving these naked hills, we passed through the large and populous town of Garah; and, after crossing a plain well wooded with fruit-trees, we skirted Jebelpur, and encamped a mile beyond the town, on the banks of a large pond lined with masonry, and embellished by the beauties of the lotus. This flower, which it can be no sin to worship, was now in full bloom. It abounds in the numerous lakes and ponds of the province of Garah; and we had the pleasure of comparing several varieties, single and full, white and tinged with deep or with faint tints of red. To a near view, the simple elegance of the white lotus gains no accession of beauty from the multiplication of its petals, nor from the tinge of gaudy hue; but the richest tint is most pleasing, when a lake, covered with full-blown lotus, is contemplated.

The pond near which we encamped, near Jebelpur, is overstocked with fish. Yet I can hardly censure the taste of the Indians, who banish from a consecrated pond the net of the fisher, the angler's hook, and the fowler's gun. Shoals of large fish, giving life to the clear water of a large lake, covered with flocks of aquatic birds, afford to the sight a gratification, which would be ill-exchanged for the momentary indulgence of appetite.

From our encampment, looking towards the town, we contemplated the pleasing tokens of human industry. A large tract of ground, appropriated to the culture of potherbs and sugarcane, was conspicuous by numberless lofty poles, that overhang hundreds of wells, allotted for watering a most

extensive garden.[1] As sugar-cane is here cultivated for immediate use, not for the extraction of sugar, the vast extent of garden ground may be fairly taken as the sign of a populous town.

Jebelpur (in truth a large and populous place), becoming the abode of the Subahdar of the province, and the station of a large body of cavalry, has drawn numerous inhabitants from the neighbouring town of Garah, yet without greatly depopulating it; for the distance is so small that the towns are rather divisions of one city than avowed rivals to each other.

The thriving condition of the province, indicated by the appearance of its capital, and confirmed by that of the districts which we subsequently traversed, demands from me a tribute of praise to the ancient princes of the country. Without the benefit of navigation, (for the Nermada is not here navigable), and without much inland commerce,[2] but under the fostering hand of a race of Gond princes, a numerous people tilled a fertile country, and still preserve, in the neatness of their houses, in the number and magnificence of their temples, their ponds, and other public works, in the size of their towns, and in the frequency of their plantations, the undoubted signs of enviable prosperity. The whole merit may be safely ascribed to the former government; for the praise of good administration is rarely merited by Mahratta chieftains; and it is sufficient applause to say, that the chief of Sagur, in twenty years, and the rajah of Berar, in four, have not much impaired the prosperity which they found.

[1] The method of drawing water from small depths by means of a pole balanced with unequal arms on a part that serves for the prop of the lever, is common in Bengal, and many other places. To the short arm a weight is suspended, from the long one a pot or a bucket, and a person standing on the edge of the well determines, by the addition of his own strength applied to the pole, the alternate preponderance of the empty bucket, and of the weight that is its counterpoise when full.

[2] For want of particular information, I shall not attempt to state what the trade of this province consists in. I can only affirm, that it receives salt from the mines of Sambhar, the ancient Sacumbhari.

The Gond princes, just now alluded to, reigned at Mendla, a fort, the walls of which are washed and almost surrounded by the Nermada, and which, jointly with the town of Garah, gives name to the province. The last independent chieftain of that race was Nizam Shah, whose name appears in the English maps of Hindustan constructed about thirty years ago; but he had perished earlier, gallantly defending his independence against the insatiate ambition and unprovoked hostility of the first Raghojee. His son became tributary to the Bhausla, but the chief of Tejgerh revenged some real or supposed injury, by inviting a Mahratta army from the eastern confines, and guiding the invasion of Garah.

The Gond chieftain was made prisoner, and is said to be still alive, in confinement at Tejgerh. The country submitted to the arms of Moraje, a fierce and sanguinary tyrant, whose undiscriminating rage more than once sentenced a humble peasant and a proud ascetic to be dragged at the neck of a camel, and trampled to death.

Twenty-five or thirty years have elapsed since this conquest; and the provinces of Garah and Mendla continued dependent on Sagur, paying, however, a quit-rent to the Bhausla, until the present Raghojee obtained from the court of Puna a recognition of his right to take possession of the province. The chieftain of Sagur did not readily acquiesce in the Peishwa's award, but Raghojee's forces found little difficulty in wresting from him the open country, and in reducing some petty forts. Two years ago, being oppressed by an army of marauders, which was headed by Mukhan, a famous partisan, the chief of Sagur yielded the fort of Mendla as the price of the aid which he solicited from the Bhausla.

The whole province is now completely reduced; a brigade of ill-disciplined infantry, and another of horse, remain to protect or to oppress the country; and the whole authority, civil and military is entrusted to a Subahdar, who is invested with the highest honours of the state, the privilege of a flag made

of gold brocade. The office was now held by a venerable old gentleman, whose grave demeanour and mild countenance are the promise of a gentle administration.

After receiving a visit from Nana Ghatia, the Subahdar of Garah, and halting one day to refresh the people and cattle, the journey was resumed. Two roads were offered to our choice. One by Chandiya Couriya, across the elbow of the Sone to Mekendpur, near Rewa; the other by Chunwa Couriya, through a corner of Bundel, to the city of Rewa itself.

The first, though circuitous and impeded by steep hills, had been preferred by travellers, ever since anarchy has prevailed in Bundel. Some of my own attendants had recently travelled that very road, and met me opportunely, on their return, at this place. Their report was not unfavourable; but the other route, to which the only objection was the character of the Bundela chief, whose territory it traverses, was preferred, as most expeditious, and because a part of the retinue of the late resident at Puna, returning by land to Hindustan, had joined my camp; the wheeled carriages, which now embarrassed the march, could not have proceeded in the narrow path which traverses the forests near the Sone, and would have found difficulty in crossing the rocky bed of that river.

We proceeded on the 3rd of June from Jebelpur, through Penager (where the two roads meet), to Ghuselpur, a flourishing village belonging to the successors of an Hindu ascetic, to whom it was granted by the then rajah of Mendla, at the instance of his minister. Grants of land made for pious purposes seem to have been respected by the Mahratta conquerors of Garah; but pensions and corrodies, which the piety or superstition of Gond princes had assigned to numerous Brahmin ascetics, and which were confirmed by the chieftain of Sagur, are now withheld by the more frugal Bhausla.

The place of encampment at Ghuselpur was on the edge of a beautiful pond, lined with masonry, and adorned with temples and other buildings. The natural inequality of the

ground, planted with trees elegantly disposed, and the form of the pond, which has not the usual uniformity of an oblong square, would not be disdained in the embellishments of an English garden. At Burager, a few miles short of Ghuselpur, we passed another beautiful piece of water. It occupies the middle of a valley between two chains of hills that extend about three miles from the head of the valley to the gorge, which is closed as usual by a dam. In the rainy season it must form a considerable lake; when viewed by us, it was a large and very fine piece of water.

The landscape between these places is beautiful; numerous eminences are scattered on a wide plain, and on every eminence stands a village surrounded with orchards. The plain consists entirely of arable land; but sugar-cane was now the only produce vegetating on the soil. Rice and wheat had been gathered in their seasons, and barley, which is unknown to the southward of the Nermada, is among the articles of culture on the northern side of the river.

The road is mostly good, especially between Burager and Ghuselpur. It is naturally formed from the substance of the hills, and red siliceous stones containing argill. This stone crumbles under pressure; but the fragments of it, like gravel, are rendered adhesive by moisture. Nothing can more perfectly unite all the requisites for the construction of good roads. But the same qualities render it less fit for edifices. The temples at Ghuselpur, built thirty or forty years ago, are already far advanced in their decay.

At this place we visited a temple consecrated to Parswanath;[1] the idols are worshipped by an heterodox sect of Hindus, and are acknowledged by these supposed atheists, for an image of Párvatí was shown to us in this temple.

From Ghuselpur we proceeded to Chunwa, passing through

[1] [A Jain saint, supposed by Mr. Colebrooke to have been the real founder of the sect. His name appears in the list of saints in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay on the Jains.—ED.]

the town of Siohar and village of Tilwa, and crossing the river Heren and low hill near Chunwa. Here the rock peeps through the soil in gentle acclivities of the hill, and the country around is entirely waste. The remainder of this day's march traversed a populous and well-cultivated tract. At Tilwa we viewed with pleasure a magnificent pond, with superb temples on the edge of it. These are among the many monuments of the piety of Biswaram Sinh, the minister.

While carefully noting these conspicuous works, I must not omit the humbler but no less useful construction of wells lined with masonry. They are numerous, not only in the towns and villages, but also at intermediate places; and the grateful traveller may daily thank the munificence which has thus provided for his refreshment. The wells are here commonly constructed on a plan, not unfrequent in Hindustan, with stairs either on one side, or within the well itself: but the square form is a peculiarity of structure which prevails in the province of Garah, and which I have seen in very few other places; it probably originates in the practice of lining wells with timber or with thick planks. The traces of this practice were formerly noticed by us in the forests between Khairagerh and Sundregaon, and recently in the jagir of Sioni Ch'hepára, as well as afterwards in the province of Bhaghelcund.

The next stage of the journey was Belhari, a flourishing town almost surrounded by hills, and situated at a small distance from the river Khatnai. A stone fort, which needs repairs, adjoins to the town; and the domes of numerous temples rise above the humble elevation of the houses. The vicinity is well wooded with fruit-trees.

We here met a drove of oxen laden with silk and with sugar for Nagpur, and overtook another carrying cotton towards Mirzapur. These are the three chief articles of the trade between the places just now named. The commerce is conducted by merchant adventurers, among whom not a few belong to a monastic order which is more devoted to mer-

chandize than to religion.[1] The owners of the goods hire oxen from carriers, adjust with contractors a fixed sum to defray the duties payable on the way, and, if cautious, insure the value of the merchandise with a banker. Large oxen carry a load of 500 lb. avoirdupois ; small oxen two-thirds of that weight : the first are expected to complete the journey in two months; the smaller cattle reach their destination in three; but, by allotting two oxen to each load, the journey may be much expedited; in this manner, it may be completed by large oxen in less than forty days, and the valuable article of silk can afford the additional expense. The common rate of hire is thirty *rupiyas* for a full load carried alternately by two large oxen, and fifteen to twenty for an equal load allotted to a single ox, with some spare cattle to provide for casualties. The hire of small oxen is much less in proportion ; viz. from seven to nine *rupiyas* for each ox, but their slow progress is often inconvenient, and the saving in the price of carriage does little more than compensate the disproportionate rate of the duties. These amount to twelve or thirteen *rupiyas* for a full load of cotton, and nine to ten for the small load; such at least is the sum usually paid to contractors. A stranger would be liable to greater exactions; but the people who are accustomed to contract for defraying the duties obtain indulgences at the several custom-houses, and thus gain an ample profit on the contract.

Our halt at Belhari was prolonged to a second day, for some arrangements which were rendered necessary owing to the desertion of porters. During this halt I received a visit from Mad'horao, the Faujdar of the district. He held the same office before the province was transferred to its present possessor; and he mentioned to me, as a singular circumstance, that, though now serving the Bhausla, he had not yet had the honour of making his obeisance to his new master. His service has not been confined to the administration of the

[1] The Gosains, or Goswamis.

district intrusted to him; a few months before we passed, he led an army towards Pernah[1] in Bundelcund, for the ostensible object of supporting the heir of the dispossessed sovereign, but probably for the disguised purpose of enlarging the limits of the Bhausla's dominions. The object has not been yet effected, and the forces have been for the present withdrawn, and, with them, Cesho Sinh, the heir of Bundel, has returned to Bilhari.

The youth (he has not yet reached his twelfth year) lost his parents and inheritance in his earliest childhood. The Bundelas, who successfully opposed the meridian power of the house of Taimur, were unable to resist the daring force of an illegitimate descendant of the Mahratta usurper Ali Behadur, the son of a peishwa's bastard, obtained permission from the namesake and remote successor of his ancestor, to use the Mahratta name in waging private war, to carve a principality for himself out of the territories of Rajput princes. Soldiers of fortune, partisans, and adventurers flocked to a standard erected under such happy auspices. The hopes of immediate plunder, and of an ultimate establishment in a conquered country, enticed needy adventurers and men of desperate fortunes. So tempting a bait was scarcely necessary in Hindustan, which is peopled by tribes devoted to the profession of arms, and where a numerous army may be levied almost in a single day.

With such forces Ali Behadur shamelessly invaded the territories of a peaceful and unoffending prince. The power of the Bundelas was already weakened by the impolitic practice, so prevalent among Hindu princes, of allotting provinces. Dhucal Sinh was the head of numerous kindred princes, rather than the sovereign of a realm; and the seeds of dissension which are always sown by such a system, had taken deep root. He was not only unable to call forth the strength of the country against the unprovoked aggressions

[1] Jernah Pernah, or Jenah Pennah, is celebrated for its diamond-mines.

of the invader, but he was even assailed by a part of the forces which should have fought in his defence. Had the Bundelas been united, Ali Behadur would have been repulsed. The difficulty of his enterprise is demonstrated by the slow progress of his arms. He has not yet completed the reduction of the country; and slight aid from a foreign power might even now enable the Bundelas to expel the lawless invader, and recover their ancient independence.

Dhucal Sinh, whose spirit and conduct were not adequate to the arduous defence of his dominions against foreign and domestic foes, was only driven to send his son and his wives to a place of safety. He entrusted them to a kinsman by affinity, the Rajah of Bijeypur; and I found them at that post when I first took charge of the district of Mirzapur, to which it belongs. The next year, Dhucal Sinh, disposing of his fortunes, solicited shelter in the dominions of the Nawab Vizir; but his request was denied. He then visited his family at Mirzapur; and being restricted by the orders of the British government from remaining there longer than consistent with a visit, he returned to the scene of warfare, carrying with him his wives, his son, and his despair. Shortly afterwards he died of disease, and his faithful wives[1] all burnt themselves with his corpse. The child was left to the care of a grandmother, and after various adventures had now found an asylum at Belhari.

Leaving my new and old acquaintances at that place, I proceeded to Canhwara, having passed the boundary to Bundelcund, only a few miles from the village of Chaca, which had been recently deserted. Quitting Belhari, the road ascends a hill, the elevation of which is inconsiderable; but its northern acclivity, for nearly two miles being destitute of soil, and covered with loose and sharp stones, is not less difficult than the steepest pass. The remainder of the road, excepting the

[1] *Sati*, the term used to denote this final proof of conjugal affection, signifies a faithful wife.

vicinity of Pusra, lay through a forest of thinly-scattered *Butea*, intermixed with few trees of other kinds. This is not the only place where I have had occasion to remark that the confines of territories belonging to different powers are abandoned to wild and spontaneous vegetation. However, the owner of the fort of Canhwara, though it is situated on the Bundela's side of this wild line of demarcation, professes allegiance to the Rajah of Berar.

The fort of that name may be given to an irregular wall of masonry, surrounding a few buildings on a small hill, and belongs to a Rajput of the Baghel tribe, descended in the eighth degree from a younger branch of the family to which Rewa appertains. For so many generations Prehlad Sinh and his ancestors have held the fort of Canhwara, with a hundred villages in the vicinity of it. The chief of Mehir claims tribute and feudal service from him; but the Rajput, countenanced by the Faujdar of Belhari, and trusting to the courage rather than the number of his kindred and adherents, has shaken off his dependence on a chieftain whom he detests with all that cordial hatred which is usually borne by feudatories to their lords, and which, in this instance, is embittered by reciprocal injuries.

Prehlad Sinh endeavoured to dissuade us from prosecuting the journey by a route which would lead us near the abode of his enemy. He affirmed that the chief of Mehir had collected forces, either to oppose our passage through his territories, or to extort money as the price of a free passage, which, nevertheless, would not be a safe one; for the camp would be still liable to depredations. Intelligence otherwise received partly corroborated this information, which was sufficiently consistent with the general character of Durjen Sinh. I was induced therefore to listen to the proposal of crossing by a by-road, from Benjari through Amerpur to Ramnager, into the route by which it was at first intended to proceed from Garah to Rewa; the Rajput himself acting as guide, with his brethren

as an additional escort, until we should reach the contiguous territory of another Baghel, whom I knew to be friendly. But a letter received from Durjen Sinh, with assurance seemingly cordial, and a report from my own messengers that they saw no untoward appearances, made me postpone the choice of either route until after the next march.

In the evening of the same day I received a visit from Prehlad Sinh. He was accompanied by his kindred and warlike retainers. The unpolished but cheerful manners of the high-spirited race of warriors always excite a lively idea of ancient times. In the strongholds and fastnesses of mountains and ill-cultivated country, the Rajputs preserve the pride, the independence, and the unaltered manners of their ancestors. Exactly such as we now see the remote descendants of Indian kings, were their earlier descendants, who formerly ruled the wide and rich dominion of India. Splendid courts and refined manners were doubtlessly found at Ujjayin, at Indrpresth, and at other capitals. Great feudatories might copy the manners of the imperial court; but petty princes, holding provinces, districts, I almost said villages, as immediate lords, lived in the simple style which hereditary habits still preserve, and which is yet scarcely alloyed by intercourse with successive conquerors of India.

The Thacur (so Rajput chieftains are called)[1] was naked from the waist upwards, except the sacrificial thread or scarf on his shoulder and a turban on his head; his two sons, both youths, were dressed with equal simplicity, and so were most of his kinsmen. Others were clothed in the hunting-dress of the Rajputs, a jacket of coarse cloth, dyed olive-green. They were all armed with scimitars, some likewise bore their shields, and a few brought their matchlocks, and sat down in the tent

[1] The much-abused title of rajah, or king, properly belongs to the paramount only, or, at least, to the head of the tribe; as Ajet Sinh, head of the Baghels, and Rajah of Rewa; Cesho Sinh, head of the Bundels, but now an exile; Ajet Sinh, head of the Chandels, and Rajah of Berdi; Ramghulam Sinh, head of the Gherwars, and Rajah of Bijeypur.

with matches lighted. This evidently proceeded from custom; for our visitors, (though unpolished mountaineers are prone enough to suspicion), were then devoid of all mistrust. I should not omit to mention that the Thacur was accompanied by his family priest and by his secretary.

Leaving these half-civilized warriors, we marched the next morning to Benjari. It had rained in the night, and the appearance of the weather continued unfavourable until daybreak. The preceding night also had been squally. This announced the near approach of the rainy season. But otherwise it might be deemed fortunate, as it moderated the intense heat of the weather, at the very time when it was become necessary to travel by day instead of night.

We passed under the wall of a fort belonging to Durjen Sinh, and encamped at Benjari, one of the hundred villages appertaining to Prehlad Sinh. After consulting with his people, it was determined to proceed to Bhedenpur, where the option of a by-road towards the Sone would yet remain. If Durjen Sinh's own people should pledge themselves for his good faith, the usual route would be eligible. Else the guides, that were purposely furnished by Prehlad Sinh, would conduct us by a cross-road beyond the reach of Durjen Sinh's violence or his treachery.

On the 9th of June we continued our progress in the valley, through which we had marched the preceding day, with the Caimur range of hills on the right. The valley is broad and sprinkled with petty forts and small villages, imperfectly cleared of forest, and abundantly intersected with brooks and rivulets. The Caimur hills are of uniform height, steep and even precipitous. The others are irregular, and of easier ascent. Both are clothed with bambus, which flower and bear ripe seed so abundantly that bambu corn is here accounted the common food of the mountaineers.

In this march we met a very large adventure of silk, laden on a hundred oxen, and, the preceding day, a less valuable

adventure of raw sugar, on four hundred oxen. This last was bound for Garah. Clayed sugar is the only sort which can afford the greater expense of transport to Nagpur. In a subsequent march we met a few oxen laden with alum, and bound for Amerawati, a mart in Berar Proper. Spices are also among the articles transported by this route from Mirzapur to the marts of the Deccan; and iron from Bhedenpur, and from the Southern districts of Baghelcund, is carried to Mirzapur in return for more valuable merchandise.

I availed myself of the opportunity of inspecting the iron-works at Bhedenpur. The furnace is in the shape of half a frustum of a cone; it is made of clay, and its height is about six feet, two-thirds of which is underground, and the remainder serves for a chimney. The front, being flat, has before it a semi-circular hole, into which the ashes and reduced metal are received, when the door of the grate is opened; through the upper part of that door a double bellows, worked by a single workman, maintains a continual stream of air by means of the alternate strokes of his right and left hands. He is relieved by one companion, and their joint labour, during twelve hours, suffices to reduce one and a half hundred weight of iron from eight times its bulk of ore, using two loads (about eight or nine hundredweight) of charcoal. The iron thus obtained loses a quarter of its weight under the hammer, in preparing it for use; but it still contains much scoria, and other impurities.

Returning from a visit to the iron-works, I received one from Durjen Sinh. He had remained during the day at the head of the pass on the Caimur hills, and several messages were exchanged; the chief object of which was to adjust the ceremonial of his proferred visit. He claimed greater honours than I thought due to him. He was told what was the honorary dress which I intended to bestow on him, and, by making the visit without further previous explanation, acquiesced in my proposal. He did not, however, appear well

pleased, and growing more dissatisfied after returning to his abode in the town, he sent back, at a late hour of the night, the presents which he had accepted. This unusual proceeding clearly demonstrated evil designs; but no satisfactory explanation could be obtained during the remainder of the night, nor in the early part of the next morning. His behaviour was all this time sulky, and his conduct was inconsistent. The pass in the Caimur hills was obstructed by matchlock-men under his orders, at the same time that messages, sent by him, disavowed any intention of opposing my progress. It was evident that he meditated either violence or treachery; and it seemed equally unsafe to remain or to move. The escort, though small, was sufficient to force our way, if we resolved either to retrace our steps towards Benjari or to explore a by-road to Ramnager. It might even suffice, though not without the loss of some lives, to force the pass of the hills. But the baggage could not be completely covered, even by a much stronger escort. In defending it some effusion of blood might with certainty be expected. A last effort, therefore, was made to bring Durjen Sinh to reason, at the same time that we prepared to move with or without his goodwill. He at length recollected himself, and made me a parting visit, at which he received a present less valuable, but, as it seemed, more acceptable than that which he had returned the preceding night.

It was now nine o'clock. However, we immediately proceeded on the journey, ascended the Caimur hills by a very narrow and difficult pass, travelled for several miles on the summit of the hills, descended into the plain on the opposite side, and after marching more than seventeen miles, encamped in the evening at Amerpatea, beyond the limits of Durjen Sinh's territories. The next day we made an easy march to Pálá. Rain during the night and in the morning detained us there until nine o'clock; but the weather becoming clear at that hour, we again moved, and, passing Amri at noon, reached the city of Rewa in the evening.

In this tract the Caimur range was on the right hand, a few scattered hills on the left. From the foot of the pass to Rewa, the road traversed a rich country well cultivated and abounding with orchards, with ponds, and with temples. At Nanden, the limit of Bundelcund, a large pond, completely covered with red lotus, exhibited the almost expiring beauty of vegetable splendour. The Indian *menianthes*, whose fringed petal exceeds in delicacy every other production of nature and of art, was in full blossom on a factitious lake at Amri; but did not emulate the beauty of the lotus, since its elegance is unapparent to a distant beholder.

Arriving within a *cos* of Rewa, we found, instead of temples (the monuments of tranquil piety), mausoleums, which disconsolate kinsmen have recently erected to the memory of many gallant warriors slain in a memorable battle that was lately fought on this spot. An army sent four years ago by Ali Behadur, to exact contributions from the Rajah of Rewa, was here defeated with the loss of their general and their cannon, by a very inferior force. The most probable account states the Nawab's forces at six thousand horse and foot, and the Rajah's at less than half that number. A much greater but incredible disproportion of numbers was alleged by one of Ajet Sinh's servants, in his own presence; he assured me that no more than a hundred and fifty horsemen went forth to meet an army of twelve thousand men, and that fifty only of that gallant band were actually engaged. Yet the victory was complete. Without giving any credit to such puerile exaggeration, the more probable account sufficiently disgraces the arms of Ali Behadur. He felt the stain, and solemnly vowed to revenge the death of his general. After the lapse of nearly three years, he last winter marched with all his force against Rewa, openly professing implacable revenge. But the aged Rajah averted the storm by submission, and purchased forgiveness by a pecuniary contribution.

Perhaps the united efforts of the Baghels might have

sufficed to repel the invader; but Ajet Sinh has neither vigour nor authority to invite or to compel the joint exertions of a tribe of gallant warriors. Having outlived his best faculties, being swayed in all his actions by avarice, and verging rapidly towards the extreme of dotage, he is despised and slighted by his own servants. His authority is openly contemned and defied, even within the limits of his own capital. It is of course wholly disregarded by the numerous feudatories, among whom his nominal dominions are parcelled out. In short, this descendant of an ancient line of Hindu princes exhibits, on a less conspicuous theatre, greater degradation (for it is voluntary) than the Moghul sovereign, whom he sheltered in the early period of this monarch's adversity.[1]

The Baghels, of whom Ajet Sinh is the head, are said, on the authority of tradition, to draw their origin from Gurjar or Guzrat. Thirty generations have passed since they migrated from that province and acquired a new settlement at Bandhagerh. They gradually enlarged their possessions to the sources of the Sone and Nermada on one side, and to the confines of Bundelcund on the other. Having expelled from Rewa the tribe of mountaineers who formerly possessed it, the chief of the Baghels was tempted by its situation to fix his abode in this city. Here the present Rajah possesses a large palace on the Goghen river. A populous and flourishing town adjoins to the fortress, and the country is well tilled.

The Rajah's own dominions scarcely exceed the bound of his capital. The extensive territories that nominally belong to him are distributed, in great and small allotments, to kinsmen near or remote, and to feudatories owing military

[1] Ali Goher, as is well known, took refuge with the Rajah of Rewa. The town of Macandpur, which was then assigned to him by the Rajah, for his abode and support, remained until very lately the private Jaghir of the king, but has been now relinquished by him. Mirza Acber Shah, his favourite son, was born at Macandpur.

[Ali Goher, the son of Alumgir the second, is better known under the title of Shah Alum, and for the part he took in the events which led to the rise of British power.—ED.]

services. Tribute is either not due, or it is withheld; and the Rajah enjoys scarcely any revenue besides that which arises from duties of custom, collected on the merchandise that passes through Rewa.[1] Desirous of obtaining tribute from the chiefs of Sohagpur and of Chandeya, Ajet Sinh lately adopted the imprudent measure of asking the aid of the Rajah of Berar, on the terms of sharing the tribute of which payment should be enforced. This will doubtless lead to the dismemberment of his dominions; and he has already experienced, in the instance of Sohagpur, that by this weak expedient he may draw ruin on his feudatory, without any concurrent benefit to himself.

After receiving a visit from this miserable chieftain in the evening of my arrival, and again the next morning, previously to my departure, I proceeded in the forenoon to Mengamma. The baggage which had been despatched earlier met a very heavy fall of rain. A very long march was thus rendered extremely tedious and fatiguing, and I was compelled to make a halt at this place, which I had refused to the pressing entreaties of Ajet Sinh.

A still longer march, on the 15th of June, brought us to Maugenj, with the loss of three camels which had not sufficiently recovered the fatigue of the preceding march. I here received a visit from Dergsahi, a chieftain of the Sengher tribe, who pays a moderate tribute to the Rajah of Rewa for an extensive tract of country chiefly occupied by his clan. Within the dominions of Ajet Sinh five tribes of Rajputs are numerous. The Baghels, Carchuls, Parihars, Balcoits, and Raciowars. Of these no fewer than three are distinguished by the atrocious practice of destroying their infant daughters. The motive by which they are influenced has been already

[1] Such is his poverty that he was unable to make good the pecuniary contribution of 116,000 rupees imposed by Ali Behadur. The Gerhwar Rajah of Mara became surety for the payment, and required hostages for his indemnification. He has since extorted from Ajet Sinh the conditional cession of a rich district contiguous to his own possessions.

mentioned. The practice is general and almost universal among them.

The next day we made a short march to Cathera, having been prevented by the badness of the weather from setting off at an early hour. The whole tract from Rewa to this place is a rich, populous and highly-cultivated country, bounded on the south by other distant peaks of the Caimur range, and on the north by the still more distant precipices which overhang the plains of Hindustan. The intermediate table-land is very gently undulated, nowhere affording opportunity for constructing ponds, without excavating the ground. However, most of the ponds (and they are very numerous), are formed on gentle declivities by throwing the earth on three sides and preserving the natural height of the fourth. Fertile as is the soil on both sides of Rewa, a scarcity was experienced in the past season. It was occasioned by the depredations of Ali Behadur's army, and still more by the wanton destruction of the young corn. The distress of this calamitous season was alleviated by importations from Mirzapur. In the course of the journey we met some droves of oxen loaded with wheat, others carried fissile salt, imported from Sambher and Lahor; and one conveyed the common culinary salt, which is extracted from the soil in the northern districts of the province of Benares. Others, again, which we now met, conveyed sugar, areca-nuts, and various articles of coarse spicery, intended for the markets of Bundel. We were here surprised by seeing an adventure of silk, proceeding at so late a season of the year, and not less so by the information received from the owners, that they complete the journey to Nagpur in the course of the wet season, by means of encamping on rainy days, and making progress during the intermissions of rain. On the other hand, we overtook many droves of cattle laden with cotton; they had been detained at Rewa, struggling against the imposition of a new tax, and lost the season without gaining relief from oppression. Cotton cannot, like less bulky articles, be shel-

tered under an awning that is easily portable; and, if drenched through by rain, without a very early opportunity of again drying it, the cotton is rendered unmerchantable. On this account, prudent traders were now cantoning for the rainy season, although the remaining distance to Mirzapur was so short.

We had remarked, as a sign of decay in the population of the district which we now traversed, the frequent traces of villages recently abandoned. But noticing at the same time hamlets newly established, we were led to infer a fickleness for which motives were to be sought. The explanation of it made known a singular economy.

The peasants of this district shift their abode at intervals of three or four years, for the sake of changing their lands, and of tilling the ground on which their cottages stood. The soil must doubtless have been enriched by the resort of men and cattle; but the benefit of cultivating land so manured can scarcely be equivalent to the labour and expense of frequent removals. Yet, whatever be the effects of this system of husbandry, it certainly indicates a laudable spirit of industry. Other indications of thriving diligence were observed in the neatness of the cottages, and in the number of ponds and orchards throughout the tract between Maugenj and Hata.

This last-mentioned place we reached on the 17th of June, and prepared, with much satisfaction, to descend the Haliyah pass of the Caimur hills, the fort of which is the boundary of the province of Benares. Above the pass, at the distance of less than half a mile of it, a small rivulet falls over the precipice into a deep valley.[1] The lofty forest, vainly emulating the abrupt precipice which overhangs it, presented a picturesque view; and while we contemplated with delight the romantic scenery which this cascade presented, we received almost

[1] In the rivulet was a beautiful Pancratium, and also the white Musali, a plant to which aphrodisiac virtues are ascribed. On the edge of the precipice was an elegant garden in full flower. I found near the brow of the hill the superb *utea*; a few miles from it we had remarked several sycamores.

equal pleasure from once more viewing a country subject to the British authority. It was the sensation of a traveller revisiting his home after a long absence.

That pleasure we actually enjoyed within three days after, for Mirzapur, which we reached on the 20th of June by the route Sonegerh, Haliyah, and Lalgenj, was the former abode of myself and of most of my fellow-travellers. A few hours after our arrival a violent storm, with rain, gave us reason to rejoice that so great expedition had been made. If the journey had employed a single day more, the inconvenience would have been great; had it required another week, all the apprehensions that had been entertained would have been realized. Solicitous as I naturally was for the safety of my companions, this timely conclusion of the journey was the pleasantest occurrence it afforded.

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*** The letter *n* refers to the notes on the pages mentioned.

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